

# ***INTO 2000***

## **- A CHRISTIAN REAPPRAISAL OF WAR**



### **FOREWORD**

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### **STUDY 1**



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## **- A CHRISTIAN REAPPRAISAL OF WAR**

### **FOREWORD TO STUDY SERIES ON PEACE AND WAR**



In 1992 the Auckland Diocesan Synod agreed to a motion promoting an educational study of war and its role in the light of the Gospel. (See appendix)

This series is an initial response to that decision. The material is seen as "starters", leading toward an informed theology of war and peace.

Some of the study is provocative, and it is important to see the studies as a base for discussion rather than a finalised conclusion.

The material has been prepared by representatives of the Diocesan Social Justice Council and the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. Defence Force Chaplaincy was also consulted. The individual studies are primarily the responsibility of their writers but editorial input was made by all members of the steering group and pilot groups.

The studies have been tested by two pilot study groups, one a diocesan-wide group invited by the steering committee and facilitated by Kevin McBride, the other a parish home group at St. George's, Papatoetoe led by Gary Husband. The committee thanks the people who formed these groups and contributed many helpful comments, most of which have been used.

Further feedback is welcomed from parish and other groups.

Additional studies may be considered, including topics such as Women and War, the Environment and War, Practical Peaceful Options to War and the Case for a Just Defence. Ideas are welcomed for future programmes.

Thanks are due to Sister Maureen of the Anglican Community of St Francis for the

worship suggestions which are included with each study and for general advice. Dr. Chris Marshall, Head of New Testament Department, Bible College of New Zealand, gave valuable assistance with the "War and the Bible" study. Dr. Alan Davidson, Lecturer in Church History at St. John's College, helped with the "War in Aotearoa" study, while the Ven. John Zimmerman advised on the group discussion questions. The assistance of Bill MacCormick with the drawings is also much appreciated.

May God, Painbearer, Peacebringer, Love Maker, be with us all!

The original working committee included Sally Platt (Social Justice Council), Allen Neil (Defence Chaplains), Robert Hornburg (Social Justice Council), John Marcon (Anglican Pacifist Fellowship) and Chris Barfoot (Anglican Pacifist Fellowship). Michael Jackson-Campbell (Defence Officiating Chaplain) joined the group when Allen Neil was transferred to Ohakea.

## CONTENTS

	Foreword
	Contents
Study 1	<b>Introductory study: "Why Peace?"</b>
	Appendices:
	1. Synod Motion
	2. Leaders' worship suggestions
	3. Leaders' study suggestions
Study 2	<b>War and the Bible</b>
	I. How do we face and overcome evil?
	II. What is the Biblical concept of justice?
	III. How do we explain the Old Testament Wars?
	IV. What kind of a Messiah does the Old Testament point to?
	V. What is the meaning of "Shalom", the Hebrew word for peace?
	VI. How does judgement, particularly the Last Judgement, relate to war?
	VII. What is a Christian's duty towards the State?
Study 3.	<b>The Church and War</b>
	I. Pacifism
	II. The Just War
	III. The Crusade.
Study 4.	<b>Conflict Resolution, International and Personal</b>
Study 5.	<b>War in Aotearoa-New Zealand - a case study.</b>
Study 6.	<b>The Gulf War - a case study.</b>



## Study 1

# WHY PEACE?



Jesus said, "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you."

(Jn 14: 27)

*For Christians peace is important. Violence, war and conflict mean a breakdown of relationships which threatens peace. How are we to understand peace and work towards it?*

## PART ONE

By yourself, think of some important places in the world today where there is no peace. Sadly, this should not be difficult. Write down on a piece of paper one or two that are important to you. 5 min.

Share them with two other people. 5 min.

With those same people make a list of all the people you can think of who suffer the effects of the conflicts you have named. 10 min.

Now, name as many as you can of the structures, institutions and natural environment of those communities that have been disrupted and/or destroyed. 10 min.

## **PART TWO**

### **Peace in the Judeo-Christian Tradition**

Again by yourself think of the passage in Scripture that speaks about peace that is most important to you.

Share that with one other and explain.

(We should only listen or ask clarifying questions here.)

In the larger group, with these passages as a guide, discuss:

What is peace?

Should the Church “promote” peace?

Why?

How?

Write down two major things that you have discovered in this session.

Write down two things that you need more information about.

#### **For reference:**

Leviticus 26: 6

Numbers 6: 24-26

1 Kings 4: 24 & 25

Psalms 29: 11

Psalms 122: 6-8

Isaiah 9: 6 & 7

Isaiah 11: 1-9

Isaiah 26: 3

Isaiah 48: 18

Micah 4: 1-4

Acts 9: 31

Romans 5: 1

Colossians 1: 20

Philippians 4: 6 & 7

Luke 2: 14

John 14: 27

Ephesians 2: 14-16

In its theology and practice the Church talks a lot about peace. In order to focus clearly on this issue we must examine the concept of peace from many different angles. Each person must develop their own response to these issues. It is important for the Church to be able to speak clearly and wisely in the public arena as well.

This series of studies will help to examine the many issues in more detail.

Robert Hornburg

## SUGGESTIONS FOR WORSHIP

**Symbol:** a globe or map of the world and/or a picture or model of a dove (sometimes to be found on Christmas cards)

*Pause for a moment to allow people to move from the discussion time into a quieter mood.*

**Reading:** Isaiah 65:17-25 — a vision of the whole of creation living in harmony and peace.

**Prayer:** Read the following prayer, slowly.

Let us be at peace within ourselves.

*Silence*

Let us accept that we are profoundly loved and need never be afraid.

*Silence*

Let us be aware of the source of being that is common to us all and to all living creatures.

*Silence*

Let us be filled with the presence of the great compassion towards ourselves and towards all living beings.

*Silence*

Realising that we are all nourished from the same source of life, may we so live that others be not deprived of air, food, water, shelter, or the chance to live.

*Silence*

Let us pray that we ourselves cease to be a cause of suffering to one another.

*Silence*

With humility let us pray for the establishment of peace in our hearts and on earth.

*Silence*

*From p. 163 in "A New Zealand Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa", 1989.*

**Pray together:**

God our Redeemer,  
lead us from death to life,  
from falsehood to truth;  
lead us from despair to hope,  
from fear to trust;  
lead us from hate to love,  
from war to peace.  
Let peace fill our heart,  
our world, our universe. Amen.

**Concluding versicle and response:**

**Leader:** The divine Spirit dwells in us

[Kia noho te Wairua o te Runga Rawa ki a tatou]

**All:** Thanks be to God. Amen.

[Whakamoemititia a Ihowa. Amine]





## **APPENDIX 1**

### **AUCKLAND DIOCESAN SYNOD 1992 MOTION 18**

That this Synod invites Anglicans in this Diocese to:

1. Study the history of war and the role of the Church therein including the practice and effectiveness of war as a means of securing peace and justice upon the earth.
2. Focus on the doctrine and practice of war in the light of the Gospel and especially the teaching and example of Christ.
3. Affirm with respect the integrity, faith and commitment of servicemen and servicewomen. Their suffering, loss and, for many, death, bears testimony to their courage and their passion for peace.
4. Recognise the courage, faith and integrity of the conscientious objectors who suffered imprisonment, disgrace and, at times, persecution, for their refusal to participate in war.
5. Call upon the Social Justice Council in conjunction with the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, the Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Committee and others to prepare a series of studies to be offered to Parish and other Diocesan groups.

**Note.** War demands of its participants the highest levels of human character: courage, loyalty, integrity and commitment. Yet it also requires participation in deceit, destruction, death and degrading activity by ordinary, decent people. The studies seek to explore means of preventing armed conflict and to explore non-violent ways of responding to aggression.

**Moved:** The Rev. John Marcon, seconded: The Rev. Peter Sykes

**Carried unanimously.**

## **APPENDIX 2**

### **SUGGESTIONS FOR WORSHIP**

These could be used at the beginning or conclusion of the study. Feel free to adapt or add to the material provided.

The leader may wish to involve others in the group in the provision of symbols, in saying the prayers, in doing the readings, so will need to be alert to preparation required and copy relevant material for that use, or have at hand copies of "A New Zealand Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa".

In addition to the different symbol suggested for each week which may be

displayed on a small table as a focus for the group throughout the study time, a candle may be burning during the worship period.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Prayers from "A New Zealand Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa", published for the Church of the Province of New Zealand, Collins, 1989. Produced with permission from the Provincial Secretary, the Anglican Church in New Zealand, Auckland.

### HYMNS THAT MAY BE APPROPRIATE TO SING DURING THE WORSHIP TIME

Key:	HHT	A Hundred Hymns for Today	
	MHT	More Hymns for Today	
	A&M	Hymns Ancient and Modern, Revised	
	NS	Hymns Ancient and Modern, New Standard	
	WOV	With One Voice, with New Zealand supplement	
Christ is the world's light, he and none other.			MHT 107, NS 440
Christ is the world's true light.			HHT 13, NS 346
Lord Christ, when first thou cam'st to men			HHT 54, NS 387
O Crucified Redeemer			HHT 71, NS 404
For the healing of the nations			HHT 28, NS 361
Who is my mother, who is my brother			"Alleluia Aotearoa"
Father hear the prayer we offer			e.g. WOV 510
Let there be light			WOV 671
I am the light of the world			WOV 669 (also in "As One Voice")
Ma te marie a te Atua			WOV 679
Tama ngakau marie			WOV 633
O thou who camest from above			e.g. WOV 486
The Lord's my shepherd			e.g. WOV 16, NS 426
			Maureen, C.S.F.

## APPENDIX 3

### SUGGESTIONS TO STUDY GROUP LEADERS

The introduction together with Study 1 is a useful opener to the studies. The group can then decide which study interests them the most, and select that study. Some papers which are part of a larger study may be used individually. For example, War and the Bible has seven papers and The Church and War three. Of course there are some advantages in doing all fourteen papers.



This booklet is part of a series of studies on war and its role in the light of the Gospel commissioned by the Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland in 1992 (Motion 18).

The material has been prepared by representatives of the Diocesan Social Justice Council and the New Zealand branch of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. The Defence Force Chaplaincy was also consulted.

## THE SERIES

- Study 1      Foreword  
                 Contents  
                 **Introductory study: "Why Peace?"**  
                 Appendices:  
                 1.    Synod Motion  
                 2.    Leaders' worship suggestions  
                 3.    Leaders' study suggestions
- Study 2      **War and the Bible**  
                 I.    How do we face and overcome evil?  
                 II.   What is the Biblical concept of justice?  
                 III. How do we explain the Old Testament Wars?  
                 IV.   What kind of a Messiah does the Old Testament point to?  
                 V.   What is the meaning of "Shalom", the Hebrew word for peace?  
                 VI.   How does judgement, particularly the Last Judgement, relate to war?  
                 VII. What is a Christian's duty towards the State?
- Study 3.      **The Church and War**  
                 I.    Pacifism  
                 II.   The Just War  
                 III.   The Crusade.
- Study 4.      **Conflict Resolution, International and Personal**  
Study 5.      **War in Aotearoa-New Zealand — a case study.**  
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*Further input is welcome. Additional copies of the series or separate studies are available. (A charge will be made to cover printing and postage.) Photocopying is permitted.*

## ADDRESS

The Convenors, c/- 332 West Tamaki Road, Glendowie, Auckland 1006.



Peace Study 2

# WAR AND THE BIBLE



## II: THE BIBLICAL CONCEPT OF JUSTICE



## Study 2: II

# THE BIBLICAL CONCEPT OF JUSTICE

1. As we realised in the questions discussed in the last paper on “How do we face and overcome evil?”, **there is one issue which dominates the whole subject of peace and war and that is the issue of justice.** Though Our Lord commended both the seekers after justice (“Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness”) and the peacemakers (“Blessed are the peacemakers”) in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:6 and 9), declaring that both are of the character of God, nevertheless there is a feeling among many that **the struggle for justice is the essential Christian duty.** Though they agree in theory with the arguments of the last paper, they will say that a Christian may, in the last resort, have to take up arms as the only means of opposing insufferable injustice. There will to them, in certain clearly defined cases, be an argument for both **a just war and a just revolution.** So justice as a Christian imperative becomes the main argument for Christian participation in war.

This of course is a very serious challenge. **The demands of justice have become the foundation of a theology which justifies a departure from the generally accepted Gospel imperatives.** Moreover, this departure has been supported by saints and theologians of the church since the fifth century, including St Augustine and St Thomas Aquinas, as well as by some modern theologians of liberation theology.

We note that this theology of the just war or just revolution is strongly based on the **western legal model of justice** that is very familiar to us, and develops in the following way:

- (a) A violation of the rights of an individual, community or nation occurs.
- (b) Guilt is determined and assigned to an offending party.
- (c) Punishment or retribution is then exacted for the crime or violation.
- (d) Justice is administered professionally, usually by the state, according to certain systematic rules.

According to Augustine a just war was to avenge actual injuries. In this way war resembled the awarding of punitive damages in private law. However, Augustine defined injuries as not only the infringement of existing legal rights but also as the infringement of the moral order. This was a very important extension. Thus any violation of God's law or any violation of Christian doctrine could be seen as an injustice warranting punishment. Augustine's scriptural justification is found in the Old Testament, especially the war of extermination waged by Joshua against the people of Ai (Joshua 8). Augustine considered this a just war because of the offence against God by the people of Ai.

Leaving aside for the moment the issue of the just war itself (which will be considered fully in the next paper on "The Church and War", can western corrective justice be considered as a satisfactory model for Biblical justice?

Consider for a moment another example quoted by Jim Consedine in his book "Restorative Justice" (Ploughshares 1995).

"The families of two South Auckland boys killed by a car welcomed the accused driver yesterday with open arms and forgiveness. The



young man, who gave himself up to the police yesterday morning, apologised to the families and was ceremonially reunited with the Tongan and Samoan communities at a special church service last night.

“The 20 year old Samoan visited the Tongan families after his court appearance yesterday to apologise for the deaths of the two children in Mangere last Tuesday. The Tongan and Samoan communities of Mangere later gathered at the Tongan Methodist Church in a service of reconciliation. The young man sat at the feast table flanked by the mothers of the dead boys.”

N.Z.P.A. 21 December 1993.

The picture begins to emerge of another kind of justice, not perhaps completely replacing the corrective model, especially in the need for restitution, but giving it a different emphasis. Here is a recognition that crime (or in theological terms sin) is above all a breaking of relationships, and that justice needs to speak towards the restoration of these relationships.

Ai or Mangere - which is Biblical justice? Or is Old Testament justice totally different from New Testament justice? If so, do we follow one, or both? If both, then how can we talk about Biblical justice?

Let us examine the evidence.

1. First of all, we will find that much of the problem in this issue comes from the difficulty of providing English equivalents for the original terms. The English meaning does not fully equate with the Hebrew meaning of justice. For example, the Oxford Dictionary defines justice as “just conduct, fairness, exercise of authority in maintenance of right” and also as “judicial proceedings” whereas Cruden’s Concordance defines it as “uprightness, just treatment”. It is perhaps because of this translation difficulty that **the word “justice” is not found at all in most English versions of the New Testament**. Yet this does not mean that justice in the Biblical

sense is not important in the New Testament. Cruden mentions that most revisions change the word to “righteousness”. Therefore it appears that **for “righteousness” in the New Testament we may often read “justice”** as in the Sermon on the Mount “Blessed are those who hunger and thirst after righteousness” (Matthew 5:9). “Righteousness” is found about 200 times in the Old Testament and 80 times in the New Testament.

**We need to look very carefully therefore at the meaning of “righteousness” and the relationship between justice and righteousness.** In current English usage these words are far apart. Justice has to do with public judicial fairness and with equal rights; it is either associated with a system of rules or with an abstract ideal, such as fighting for rights. Righteousness, which is almost an archaic word today, tends to imply personal purity or piety, and has a suggestion of moral priggishness if it is confused with the term “self-righteousness”. Justice therefore belongs to the social, public or political sphere, and righteousness to the personal or private sphere. However, in the Bible the situation is very different.

**The English words, justice and righteousness, though having distinct Latin and Anglo-Saxon roots, are translations from Hebrew and Greek words which are drawn from the same root.** For example, justice in the Old Testament is a rendering of the Hebrew word, “sedeqah”, which has to do with right relationships, right ordering, making things right. **The Hebrew root refers both to relationship with God and to relationship with one’s fellows. It is a term having spiritual and private as well as ethical and social aspects.** Biblical justice therefore has the same depth of meaning. If there is a different shade of meaning with righteousness, justice could be said to be the practical expression of righteousness, the working out of these right relationships. Justice and righteousness are therefore virtually synonymous, though a better word might be “symbiotic”, living together because each is essential to the other.

The study of semantics therefore begins to show a meaning for justice based on the righting of relationships which is already going beyond the more legal and impersonal connotation of the English word.

3. In order to bring out fully the nature of Biblical justice, we need now to look at the Scriptures, both New and Old Testaments. As has already been quoted in the Introduction to these studies from the Catechism of The New Zealand Prayer Book, the Scriptures were written through the help of the Holy Spirit and can only be understood through the Holy Spirit (p. 930 N.Z. Prayer Book and Luke 24:27). Moreover, Jesus came not to set aside but to fulfil the Law and the prophets (Matthew 5:17-20 Luke 24:44-45).

Therefore **we will first examine the use of justice and righteousness in the Old Testament.**

- (a) **Justice and righteousness express both God's nature and attributes and what God requires of his chosen people.** "What does the Lord require of you but to do justice, to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" (Micah 6:8). They are rooted in the covenant which God makes with his people, and reflect the relationships established by this covenant. God's people are to be faithful to God and to each other. God in his turn binds himself to be faithful to his people in fulfilling his promises to them (Deuteronomy 5 and 6 10:12 to 11 end, 30).
- (b) The Law or Torah is the social expression of God's righteousness and the revealed will of God to his chosen people. **It sets out the pattern of the covenantal relationship. Obedience to the law is the means by which the people maintain their relationship with God. Hence law, covenant and righteousness are interconnected. But the law also provides a pattern of living with one another which is known as "Shalom" or peace.** The law therefore builds up shalom; it is a way of establishing social justice, as in the Sabbath and Jubilee provisions (Leviticus 25). Even when the law is broken, God's justice is not primarily

vindictive, but is a means of restoring shalom, as in the case of David's adultery (2 Samuel 11 and 12 and Ps. 51). The law therefore as an expression of God's justice is never solely legal or retributive; it is also restorative, both in relation to God and to others.

- (c) Obedience to the law therefore involves a right relationship both to God and to others, and these relationships are inseparable. Doing social justice and knowing God are one and the same. The prophets continually needed to remind Israel of this truth. Their warnings are not an addition to the revealed will of God but a witness to the very heart of the Torah.

“I hate your feasts ... but let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever flowing stream” (Amos 5:21-24).

“Is this not the fast that I choose ..to share your bread with the hungry? (Isaiah 58:6-9)

- (d) However, even though the law is given by God, and is good and holy, **Israel by its own efforts cannot achieve the justice or righteousness or indeed the relationship with himself** which God in his loving purpose desires for them. There is no open vision to the people of Israel (1 Samuel 3:1). God's Spirit is given only intermittently to Israel's kings and prophets. Where the kings disobey God's laws and when there are no true prophets, the lack of justice grieves God and he sees that there is none to intervene except himself (Isaiah 59:12-13 and 15-16). “None is righteous, no, not one; ...all have turned aside and gone wrong” (Ps. 53:1-3).
- (e) **Both justice and righteousness therefore become those qualities which God, in fulfilment of his covenant with Israel, promises will be fulfilled through his anointed one, the Son of David, the Messiah.**

“Behold the days are coming’, says the Lord, ‘when I will raise up for David a righteous Branch, and he shall reign as



king and deal wisely, and he shall execute justice and righteousness in the land” (Jeremiah 23:5).

The post-exilic prophets, especially the Second Isaiah, begin to speak of a Redeemer, a God who is to save, and God’s righteousness is synonymous with salvation. Salvation will bring shalom, wholeness and peace and healing of the relationship both with God and with others.

“How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who brings good tidings, who publishes peace, who brings good tidings of good, who publishes salvation” (Isaiah 52:7).

Salvation will also bring release from bondage and oppression after the example of the Jubilee and Sabbath provisions of the Law.

“The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me because he has anointed me to bring good tidings to the afflicted; he has sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to those who are bound” (Isaiah 61:1).

Lastly, God promises a new covenant where each person will know the Lord through his Holy Spirit and each one will be a prophet to proclaim the righteousness and justice of God (Jeremiah 31:31-34, Joel 2:28-29)

**To sum up, justice and righteousness are synonymous or symbiotic words in the Old Testament. They are attributes of God’s nature which we are destined to share. They are an integral part of the covenant between God and his people, and are practically expressed in the Mosaic Law. They represent not only God’s commitment to us and our commitment to God, but also our commitment to other people and therefore they are the means by which shalom is built up. They are not primarily punitive but restorative, pointing towards the making right of all relation-**

**ships, both with God and with others. Lastly, they are the qualities above all of the Messiah who comes bringing salvation, a salvation which combines righteousness and justice with shalom or peace, and in which all will share through God's Holy Spirit.**

#### **4. Now let us look at the New Testament.**

- (a) Firstly, Jesus claims to fulfil the Old Testament prophecies about justice and righteousness. At the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke 4:16-19) **he announces that in him the Messianic prophecy of Isaiah 61: 1-2a has come true because he has been anointed by the Spirit “to preach good news to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives, recovering of sight to the blind and to set at liberty those who are oppressed”**. His miracles are the evidence of the fulfilment of these and other prophecies. In his reply to the question of John the Baptist, he declared that “the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear and the poor have the good news preached to them” (Matthew 11:5), thus fulfilling the words of Isaiah 35:5-6 and Isaiah 61:1.
- (b) **But it was Jesus' death on the cross which supremely fulfilled the Messianic promises by breaking for all time the oppression and the bondage of humankind. The sacrifice of the Cross gives the fullest and deepest dimension to the Old Testament concept of justice in two ways. Firstly, it frees humankind from its age-old slavery to Satan. Secondly, it restores humankind's relationship with God. In short God makes right what has gone wrong and he does this by the shedding of his own blood. Moreover, when Our Lord fulfilled the Messianic prophecies relating to “release of captives”, “liberty for the oppressed” and**

“the opening of prison”, he means more than political, economic or social freedom. Jesus through his passion, death and resurrection frees us from sin and death itself (Romans 8:1-2)

(c) **Perhaps, most important of all, the cross of Christ draws not just Israel but all humankind towards its healing, towards the restoration of Shalom. The justice passages of the Old Testament reveal God as the great liberator not only of his own people but of the Gentiles as well (Isaiah 60:1-16) and the New Testament shows how that liberation was accomplished through Christ who is known as Saviour and Redeemer. The liberation refers both to the individual and to society, and even to creation itself. “Let the floods clap their hands; let the hills sing for joy together before the Lord” (Ps. 98:8-9).**

(d) However, it is in the Epistle to the Romans that Paul, a Jew steeped in the Scriptures (namely the Old Testament) **draws on and transforms the Old Testament concepts of justice and righteousness to reveal God’s revolutionary power acting to save not only Israel but the whole of creation and humankind.** Righteousness for Paul, as in the Old Testament sense, is primarily relational. It implies not only a new legal status for individuals, but a new relationship both with God and with others. **It shows how God is making right the whole of his creation through Christ, reestablishing shalom in a cosmos which like the individual is tainted and distorted by sin** (Romans 8:18-25, Ephesians 1:10, Colossians 1:19). Just as the Old Testament knows no separation between the knowledge of God and social justice, so God now transforms the innermost being of individuals in order that those who are saved are able to be his agents of transformation in the world. Seen through the eyes of Christ, not only is our personal life renewed, but all our relationships towards others and our attitude towards creation (2 Corinthians 5:17-19,

Galatians 6:14, Ephesians 2:13-22, Colossians 3:9-11, James 2:14-17, 3:17-18, 1 John 3:11-18). **In short for Paul union with Christ is the radical basis of a Christian's responsibility towards others and towards creation.**

- (e) The righteousness of Christ which is received by each believer is in fulfilment of God's promise (Jeremiah 31:31-34). This righteousness is more than a static gift; it is also a transforming power. **Thus justification, the revelation of divine righteousness, and sanctification, the ongoing manifestation of God's righteousness in life, are inseparable.** Salvation means not only accepting Christ but growing in Him through the transforming power of the Holy Spirit (Romans 12:2). God's righteousness and justice become our own - but not for ourselves. **The righteousness of Christ in the believer is demonstrated by a completely new lifestyle which works for justice by changed relationships with others** (Ephesians 4:23-32).
- (f) There remains yet to be considered what will be for many the most pressing question. **What are the methods by which Jesus, and we as his disciples, achieve justice? We believe that the New Testament shows us that the answer is found in a personal relationship with Christ, for unless we remain in Christ, we cannot achieve his righteousness or justice. However, in order to remain in Christ, we are required to keep his commandments.** These commandments guard the hidden life of Christ in us. Obedience to them is both the test of our love for him and the condition of his presence in us (John 14:21, 15:7,10). We believe that two of his commands are vital in this issue. The first one is to take up his cross; the second is to love one another as Jesus has loved us.



- i. **“He who does not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me” (Matthew 10:38).** The justice and righteousness of Christ operates through the cross. The cross acts first of all upon us, then through us to others. “But far be it from me to glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ through whom the world is crucified unto me, and I to the world” (Galatians 6:14). All the desire to achieve things my way must die in me in order that I may see the world through the eyes of Christ and may love and serve others after his example. It is only when we love others in Christ and claim the power that is available through his cross that we can be instruments of his reconciliation, and can be enabled to heal the deep enmity between humankind and God and between one person and another (Ephesians 2:13-18).
- ii. **“A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another as I have loved you” (John 13:34).** This command is hard because “as I have loved you” means following the way of his cross in sacrificial service after his example. All our duties toward our neighbour including the duty of justice are included in this one commandment of love: “Owe no one anything, except to love one another; for he who loves his neighbour has fulfilled the law” (Romans 13:8-10, Galatians 5:13-14). The way of justice is based upon God’s nature and his relationship or covenant with us. In Christ his nature is revealed in overpowering, all giving love. “God so loved the world that he gave ...” (John 3:20). Just as God covenants with us to save us by the way of the cross, so he asks us to covenant with others to serve them. These covenants are inseparable. “He who does not love his brother whom has seen cannot love God whom he has not seen” (1 John

5:20). In short, we cannot work for justice except in ways compatible with this love.

To sum up, **justice and righteousness are synonymous or symbiotic words in the New Testament as well as in the Old. Indeed they are so close that justice is only found in most English versions through its synonym righteousness. We have already seen that they have the same Hebrew root in “sedeqah” which means “right relationships, right ordering, making things right”. Now we see how Christ in a most dramatic way makes things right by shedding his own blood on the cross. Only he could break by his sacrifice the power of sin, a power which has tainted not only individuals but the community and even creation itself. We are called in his name and in his power to this revolutionary work of making right, bringing Christ’s righteousness, justice and shalom, to individuals, to the community and to creation. Union with Christ is therefore the source of our righteousness, the motivation of our search for justice and the means of creating peace or shalom. Finally, because it is only in Christ that we can seek justice, we can only work by methods which are compatible with Christ and in obedience to his commands.**

5. Has our study of semantics and our study of the Old and New Testaments brought us any closer to the meaning of Biblical justice? May we attempt in what is a most difficult subject some very tentative conclusions?

(a) The meaning of justice in the Bible is different from what is commonly accepted as its English meaning. The English word tends to be associated with the western system of corrective justice whereby the wrongdoer is identified and given an appropriate punishment by the State. The Hebrew word through its connection with righteousness focuses on

the righting of relationships. Thus when a crime occurs, there is a destruction of “shalom” or peace, both between individuals and within the community. In the widest sense the crime also destroys a person’s relationship with God. For justice to be done in the Biblical sense, not only must restitution be made, but each relationship damaged needs to be restored. Thus justice means restitution and healing of those wounded, rehabilitation of the offender and his restoration in the community, and in the deeper sense his reconciliation with God

- (b) Both righteousness and justice are related to shalom as three of the great themes of the Bible. They are also related to salvation, for our God is the God who makes things right, who restores our relationship both with him and with our fellows, who cancels out our wrongdoing by his blood. This is the salvation and the justice of God, not judgement but mercy, not punishment but restoration. .
- (c) Righteousness and justice are rooted in the character of God and his covenant with us. He promises us justice and mercy, and we are to reflect his justice and mercy to others. This promise and our responsibility are interdependent and inseparable. The Old Testament prophets spoke to the heart of the Torah when they witnessed to this. So we who are saved in Christ are also empowered by the Holy Spirit to share with him the transformation of a world that is tainted by sin and to make right all relationships that have gone wrong. Justice for the Christian includes political justice but goes wider to encompass all relationships where people have been hurt both by sin itself and by the wrongful actions of other people.
- (d) Biblical justice therefore does not change between Old and New Testaments, but Christ fulfils what the Law and the prophets represent and predict. The main themes are making right our relationship with God and with others, and sharing

in God's work in obedience to his commands.

- (e) We believe that for us as Christians justice wells out of union with Christ and can only be achieved in the power of the Spirit and in obedience to his commands, notably the commands to take up his cross and to love as he loves us. It therefore cannot be based upon retribution but upon restoration, reconciliation and rehabilitation. A just war or a just revolution is accordingly a contradiction in terms. Even though honourable in intention and restricted in its conduct by certain rules, the action of war or revolution cannot achieve God's justice because it does not follow the way of Christ's love as shown in the cross, and it is retributive rather than restorative.

## **7. The Way Ahead**

Perhaps the greatest service that we as Christians can do is to change the focus of justice from retribution to restoration. H. Zehr in "Changing Lenses", though his emphasis is on crime and justice, contrasts the two:

Retributive justice sees crime as a violation of the state defined by lawbreaking and guilt. Justice then determines blame and administers pain in a contest between the offender and the state directed by systematic rules.

Restorative justice sees crime as a violation of people and relationships which creates obligations to make things right. Justice involves the victim, the offender and the community in a search for solutions which promote repair, reconciliation and reassurance.

How might this change of focus apply to international justice?

- i. It may be said that the application of the retributive model has



made methods such as military intervention a legitimate and almost a reflex response. This response has often become part of a circle of violence, and a search for a more positive and creative response has been pre-empted.

- ii. Retributive justice tends to define the offence in technical, legal terms, and its adversarial approach in international disputes has assumed a conflict of interest without enquiring as to the causes of the conflict. There has been little enquiry into the background of the dispute, its social, economic and historical context.
- iii. Restorative justice does not separate social and criminal injustice, whereas retributive justice considers only criminal injustice as a crime. In international or national disputes social or structural injustice such as economic or social oppression, while not actually infringing the law, is equally an offence against justice in the Biblical sense. Therefore a search for a lasting solution must take this structural injustice into account.
- iv. Healing, restoration and rehabilitation are needed in four areas of international conflict: the victims, the relationship between victims and offenders, the healing of the offenders, the healing of the community.
- v. The emphasis would be on the rebuilding of relationships within or between nations, upon the restoration of Shalom. This process may involve repentance, forgiveness, restitution and reconciliation. In this work of rebuilding only the methods compatible with Shalom would be effective. These methods we also believe to be synonymous with the methods of Biblical justice.



3. Examine retribution and restoration.

- (a) Which is more important? In the Mosaic law? In the New Testament? In our judicial system today?
- (b) Now look at disputes within or between nations. What process might a policy of restoration follow? How would it differ from a process of retribution? Illustrate from a current situation.









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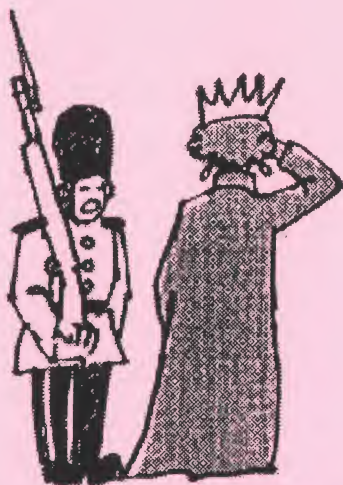
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Peace Study 3

# THE CHURCH AND WAR



## III: THE CRUSADES



### Study 3: III

# CRUSADE

We next turn to the doctrine of the Crusade. **The Crusade of the Middle Ages grew out of the just war**, but achieved a scale and a level of popular Christian support unprecedented in the history of the Church.

- (a) **The Crusade was a religious war, a war to defend the Christian faith and all that legitimately belonged to that faith .**
  - (i) **It used the standard criteria for the just war: right intention** always expressed in an attitude of love towards God and neighbour, **a just cause, and proclamation by a legitimate authority.**
  - (ii) However, two other criteria were added. **Firstly, violence was not intrinsically evil. If it was used with good intention, it was positively good. Secondly, Christ became a political force.** His empire was the Pope's Empire, his agents were Bishops, Popes, Emperors and Kings. Personal commitment to defence of this Empire was Christ's cause. The Crusade was a Holy War directly authorised by Christ through his mouth-piece the Pope.
- (b) **The Crusade, originally conceived against the Moslem Saracens who occupied the Holy Land, was to be used against all those perceived to be the external and internal foes of Christendom.** Hence there were crusades not only against the

Moslems in Spain, Hungary, Palestine and Egypt, but against pagans in Prussia and Lithuania, against those deemed to be heretics such as the Cathari and the Albigensians of Southern France, the Hussites of Bohemia, and also against the schismatic Greeks. There were even crusades against the political but Christian enemies of the Pope, such as the Ghibelline supporters of the Emperor in Lombardy and Tuscany, and the King of Sicily.

- (c) **The Crusade proper was distinguished by two features, the indulgence and the vow.** The plenary indulgence was the remission by the church of all sins committed. The Christian obtained this indulgence by taking a vow to perform certain services and the crusader's cross and tunic was the visible sign that he was performing this vow.
- (d) **The scriptural foundation for the Crusade was the Holy War or heren of the Old Testament,** in particular the conquest of Canaan as commanded by Moses (Deuteronomy 7:1-2 and 13:15-16) and carried out by Joshua (Joshua 10:40) The instructions were that **the enemy was to be completely destroyed and no mercy was to be shown even to non-combatants, women and children.** Even the possessions of the enemy were to be destroyed as an indication of the godly motives of the Israelites (Joshua 7). Though the Crusade was based on the Old Testament role models of the holy war, **New Testament texts were also quoted by those who promoted the Crusades.** A favourite one was taking up the way of the cross (Matthew 16:24), a cross which could lead to martyrdom. Other texts used were: "anyone who has left houses, brothers, sisters, father or mother, children or lands for my name's sake" (Matthew 19:29) and "Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends (John 15:13).

- (e) The crusade differed from the just war therefore in dispensing with the code of humane conduct between adversaries. **There appeared to be no restriction on methods, and non-combatants received no special protection.**
- (f) **The crusade was one of the grandest enterprises of a united Christendom,** and was supported by the great saints of the Church. **A crusading army was truly international.** Christian kings and barons were asked to put aside their differences and to unite to rescue their oppressed brothers in a just cause. St Bernard of Clairvaux, in recruiting for the Second Crusade, said that the expedition was a “plan not made by man but proceeding from the heart of divine love.” He also claimed that the “wages of fighting would be the remission of sins and everlasting glory”. Pope Innocent III in 1201 warned that any Christian ruler who refused to participate in a crusade “will have to answer to us in the presence of the Dreadful Judge of the last day.”
- (g) **In spite of such high ideals the Crusades, when successful, were accompanied by unspeakable cruelty.** The capture of Jerusalem in 1099 is described by Raymond of Agiles: “In the temple of Solomon men rode in blood up to their knees and bridle reins... it was a just and splendid judgment that this place should be filled with the blood of unbelievers.” The same cruelty characterised the crusades against heretics at home. Christian crusaders, enlisted by offer of indulgence for forty days, went on a campaign against the Cathari, hanging, beheading and burning. Nevertheless, **the inward attitude of love required by Augustine was still observed in that the sinner was being punished for his own good.** This attitude was to persist during the Inquisition when imprisonment, torture and the stake were used in order to save souls by intimidation.



- (h) The crusades, as strictly defined in terms of indulgence and vow and papal control, finally disappeared with the break-up of the Corpus Christianum at the Reformation. **However, the crusade has re-emerged in many different forms since then.**
- (i) **The Reformation ushered in 150 years of fanatical rivalry between Catholic and Protestant**, in which each side used the method of the crusade. The Catholics revived the Inquisition. The Protestants resorted to Holy War to curb the errors of the Papacy. These wars of religion, like the crusades, were not subject to the limits of the just war. The horrors of the religious wars such as Cromwell's subjugation of Ireland have left a legacy of hatred which is still with us today.
- (ii) During the **First World War** atrocity propaganda fanned a **fanatical hatred of Germans**. The Bishop of London urged his flock: "Kill Germans to save the world. I look upon this war as a war for purity ... everyone who dies in it will be a martyr." The desire to punish Germany after the First World War by continuing the blockade beyond the armistice and by huge reparations and territorial confiscations under the Treaty of Versailles suggests a continuation of this crusade mentality and was undoubtedly one of the causes of the Second World War.
- (iii) The **Second World War** was on the whole seen as a just war until near the end when **massive obliteration bombing and the demand for unconditional surrender** verged on a crusade.
- (iv) **Modern wars of liberation** have brought back the concept of a political Christ and thus have some of the characteristics of crusades.

- (v) **The Cold War, in particular the fear of Communism** (“better dead than red”), led to a crusade mentality in such wars as the Vietnam War.
- (vi) In the **Gulf War** the official propaganda about the evil regime of Saddam Hussein sought to mobilise public support for a crusade approach. **The desire to punish Iraq, the innocent with the guilty, by the continuation of sanctions after the war** is a reflection of this approach, similar to the treatment of Germany after the First World War.

In all these examples, the same similarities can be seen which differentiate these wars from a “just” war:

- (i) **The religious, or in modern context, ideological nature, of the struggle** goes beyond the strict legal boundaries of a just war (exact recompense for injury suffered) and instead **attaches to a whole race or people a collective guilt for an undefined sin or evil.**
- (ii) **Punishment for this guilt is unrestrained**, being likened to divine judgment and tends to dispense with the “discriminate” means of a just war.
- (iii) However at the same time, once a war is launched, a holy war and a just war become extremely difficult to differentiate. **A just war is likely to develop into a crusade at any time, particularly when modern mass media have such power to change public opinion by selective news presentation.**

Let us now examine the crusade according to our three criteria:

(i) **Scriptural authority.** Because it is a holy war or religious war, the crusade relies heavily on scriptural texts. The most favoured ones are:

— The holy wars of extermination waged by Joshua against pagan Canaan (Deuteronomy 20:16-18, Joshua 8)

— The Psalms that speak of military victory over the unrighteous (e.g. Psalm 149:6-9)

— New Testament texts such as Matthew 16:24 (taking up the cross) and Matthew 19:29 (laying down one's life for one's friends).

It appears that the crusade calls for an exact imitation of the Old Testament examples without reference to the New Testament revelation of Christ. The new nature in Christ, the new covenant calling for a complete change of heart, and the Holy Spirit which opens to us the scriptures (Luke 24:32) are ignored. The New Testament texts are also used with little attempt to imitate the example of Christ or to seek the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Evil is attributed selectively to particular nations, classes, races or ideologies, and not to all of mankind. Warfare is against these selected peoples and not against Satan. This superficially simple and attractive approach is unscriptural and dangerous.

(ii) **Relationship to the mission of the church** as defined in Matthew 28:19-20 (the great commission). The crusades were not conceived as a method of converting the Moslems, but a method for punishing them for their “unjust” occupation of Christ's domain. **The face of Christ as presented to the Moslems was such that the Crusades reaped no converts but instead a bitterness which continues to this day.**

(iii) **Relationship to the pastoral and human needs of their time.**

The Crusades can best be understood in the context of the **“age of faith”**. The Middle Ages represented to many a flowering of Christianity. This is the age of a Papacy which presided over a united Christendom, of most of the great saints of the Church, of the building of the great Cathedrals of Europe, of Kings who acknowledged the claims of Christ, of the knightly code of chivalry, of the great religious orders, of all classes of society aware of their sin and fearful of God’s judgment. **Kings took seriously their title of “defender of the faith” and their need for eternal salvation. The Crusades, in the way they were represented, appeared to provide both for them and for their subjects a way to defend the faith and to secure their salvation.** They redirected the energies of warring barons and united Christendom in what seemed to them a noble and courageous cause. They were a reflection of a feudal society which gave barons complete power over their vassals and of knightly vows which bound young men to obey their lords implicitly. The fact that the crusades continued in popularity in spite of their failures and contradictions is a measure of these cultural factors.

Can we draw any conclusions from this examination of the three attitudes towards war in 2000 years of Christian history? **Can we in our generation find a way which is anchored in the scriptures, obeys the great commission and serves the human and pastoral need of the community and world?**

Chris Barfoot



## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The superficially attractive conflict between “us” and “them”, between the “good” and the “bad” people is the basis of the crusade and of many ideological wars in this century.
  - (a) Can you think of any recent wars where this attitude has been a strong factor?
  - (b) By what means is this crusade mentality encouraged?
  - (c) What is the effect on the conduct of the war?
2. In history as well as today some of the most fanatical and cruel wars appear to be those in which religion has been a significant factor.
  - (a) Discuss with reference to the Crusades, Northern Ireland, Israel and Palestine today, and Bosnia, or any other wars.
  - (b) Is religion a true factor in these situations, or is it only being used?
3. The crusade was undertaken as a war against the perceived evil of heresy as modern ideological wars have been waged against the perceived evil of Communism and possibly of militant Islam.
  - (a) How effective were the crusades in converting pagans and heretics, and other faiths including the Saracens?

- (b) It could be said that Communism and Islam were and are political rather than religious or ideological evils (for the Christian West). What do you think?



## AUCKLAND DIOCESE STUDIES ON WAR

### Study 3

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Study 4

# CONFLICT RESOLUTION

INTERNATIONAL AND PERSONAL

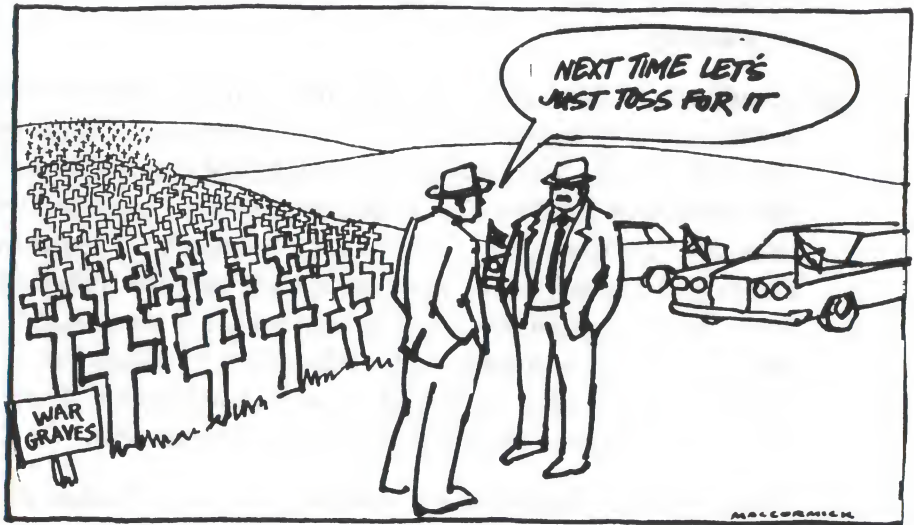




Study 4

# CONFLICT RESOLUTION

## INTERNATIONAL AND PERSONAL



### BACKGROUND

1. What is conflict? Why does it occur and what is the Biblical explanation?
  - (a) **How is conflict defined?** The Oxford Dictionary gives its Latin derivation as "conflictus" from "con-fligere" meaning to "strike



against", and the meaning as "**fight, struggle, collision, clashing** (of opposed principles etc)". Conflict in the context of this study is to be carefully distinguished from **disagreement or difference of opinion** or from **competition or contest** used in relationship to business or sport. Conflict usually involves **hostility** whereas these other words do not in themselves include this attitude, though may develop it. Conflict is a universal characteristic of human communities. **It is usually expressed in violence**, either of thought, attitude, word or action. Generally the actions and words are an outward expression of an inner thought or attitude. The inner thought relates to **feelings of enmity or ill-will towards one's fellow human beings**. **These feelings are usually either anger, fear, hatred, covetousness or jealousy.**

- (b) **Conflict to a Christian arises directly from sin** (James 4:1:3). In the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2:8) or in the Messianic reign of peace (Micah 4:1-5) human beings live together in perfect peace. The murder of Abel by Cain (Genesis 4) follows immediately after the Fall (Genesis 3). The murder is directly the result of Cain's jealousy of Abel's more acceptable sacrifice (Genesis 4:5). God urges Cain to control his jealous anger because, if he does not, anger will control him (Genesis 4:7). However, he cannot. Anger leads to hatred, hatred to murderous desire, murderous desire to the action of murder (Genesis 4:8).
- (c) **The Christian diagnosis on conflict, therefore, is that the inner attitudes behind conflict relate directly to the state of sin or to the state of alienation from God which arises from the Fall.** The fruits of this state are described as including "enmity, strife, jealousy, anger, dissension, party spirit" (Galatians 5:20) and "envy, murder, strife, malignity" (Romans 1:29). These attitudes do not arise from external factors but are rooted in the heart of human kind (Matthew 15:18-19). As long as we live in this fallen world, we will not avoid conflict.

(d) **The transformation of the Christian from the state of sin to the state of grace (Romans 5:21), from the old nature to the new nature (Ephesians 4:22-24), dramatically affects the attitudes behind conflict.** The fruits of the flesh are replaced by the fruit of the Spirit, and included in these are “love, peace, kindness, goodness and self control”(Galatians 5:22). The anger that Cain could not master is now mastered by Christ. The power of Christ dwelling within us gives us freedom from the domination of those forces which once inevitably involved us in strife and enmity not only with God but also with our fellows. This freedom in Christ is not given to us just to pursue our own individual salvation, but “through love” we are to “be servants of one another” (Galatians 5:13). As the Cross has removed the cause of our conflict with God, so it has removed the causes of our conflict with others. Reconciled to God we are become reconcilers (2 Corinthians 5: 18-19). **As the power of the flesh in our natural state impels us inevitably towards conflict, so the power of Christ in a state of grace motivates us towards conflict resolution.**

2. **Hostile conflict because of its tendency towards violence is destructive of society. How then does society manage conflict?**

(a) **In order to protect the family, community or state from the anti- social consequences of conflict, rules and laws and sanctions of different kinds have been established in every human society.** The observance and maintenance of these rules and laws, for example against theft, fraud or murder, are usually considered necessary for the wellbeing of society. Society by these rules curbs the outward expressions of conflict. However, laws or rules do not necessarily change the attitudes of enmity behind conflict.. In other words, conflict is controlled, but not resolved.

(b) **The Biblical response to human sin and conflict is expressed**

**initially in the Mosaic law** given to Moses and the Israelites by God (Exodus 20, Leviticus, Deuteronomy). God, recognising the fact of human hardness of heart (Matthew 19:8), in his wisdom and compassion provided for his chosen people rules which would protect their integrity, well being and spiritual health as a nation. The Torah, or revealed will of God, however, is not confined to the superficially negative regulations of the Mosaic Law, but points forward to how God's people should live and this is developed further in the prophets and fulfilled in the New Testament.

**3. Is there a difference then between the approach of the law and the Christian approach?**

- (a) **After God sent his promised Messiah, God no longer deals with us as servants but as sons and daughters** (Galatians 3:23 to 4:7). **Christians who now live by faith are no longer under the law but under grace** (Galatians 3:13). This does not mean that we act without the law, but the law springs out of our own heart and we obey it in freedom (Jeremiah 31:33 and 2 Corinthians 3:3-11). We obey rules not out of necessity but "for conscience sake" (Romans 13:5).
- (b) The revealed will of God therefore for Christians includes but goes beyond the law of the land. **The conflict which the secular law cannot resolve we are impelled to resolve by virtue both of our own changed nature in Christ** (Colossians 3:10) **and the commandment of God to love one another** (John 15:12) **and by love to seek justice for our neighbour** (Romans 13:8-10). This new way of life is not just an option, but a scriptural commandment. "If a person loves me, he will keep my word" (John 14:23). Nor is it just an inward attitude; it must also be expressed in actions (James 2:14-26, Matthew 25:31-46).

**4. But hostile conflict involves evil usually in the form of fear,**

**hatred or antagonism. Therefore conflict resolution must involve some way of controlling or overcoming evil.**

We have touched on this question in the paper on "Facing and Overcoming Evil". Briefly, though most will agree on the existence of evil, and some will agree on its causes, the divergence occurs in the methods of overcoming it. **The Christian attitude towards the resolution of conflict is based on our belief in human sinfulness, the need for repentance and the atoning substitutional sacrifice of Christ. May we set forward again what we believe as important scriptural guidance in both the overcoming of evil and the resolution of conflict.**

- (a) We speak the truth in love, loving the person but resolutely opposing whatever is evil (Ephesians 4:15 and 6:14).
- (b) We pray for those who oppose and attack us, as Jesus prayed for his crucifiers (Luke 23:34).
- (c) We repent before God for the sin which is at the root of the situation, both our own sin and the sin of the other party (Matthew 5:23-24, James 4:1-3).
- (d) We forgive the injury or the attitude which lies behind it (Luke 15:20-24, Colossians 3:13).
- (e) We refuse to exact revenge (Matthew 5:39-41, Romans 12:19).
- (f) We renounce attitudes or methods which are incompatible with love, for example lethal violence (Matthew 5:21-22).
- (g) We use instead methods which are redemptive in character and which respect the person, for example, persuasion and dialogue (James 3:17-18).

It is now time to move from the theological background of conflict resolution to practical methods.



- (c) **Love of enemies.** It was claimed by Augustine in propounding the just war theory that the inner attitude of love for enemies demanded by our Lord's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount was compatible with the action of killing provided that the act was without a spirit of cruelty or hatred or revenge. How convincing is this argument? Can our actions so bely the pureness of our motives? And which will answer for us at the judgement (Matthew 25:31-46)? Moreover, Augustine was quick to point out that only the state could exonerate the individual from murder by this argument. Any other killing, whatever the motive, was a capital crime.
- (d) **Forgiveness and repentance.** Armed force may effectively handle the visible eruptions of conflict, but is not often successful in dealing with the deeper causes such as longstanding social or political injustice or a legacy of hatred from past injuries. The conflict therefore is not resolved but repressed. It continues underground nursed by humiliation and desire for revenge until it breaks out again. A peace achieved or maintained by armed force where repentance and forgiveness are not part of the process is an unstable peace.

## Secondly, **Organised Non Violence:**

- (a) **Justice.** Non-violence is not to be confused with appeasement which is avoidance of conflict. Non-violence is, as the examples show, a successful method of obtaining justice for the oppressed or those who are deprived of just rights. Like Gandhi's Satyagraha or truth-force, it is a courageous witness to the truth, but by the method of love. It does not seek the punishment of its oppressors, but tries to treat them as persons. It refuses to use lethal violence, but instead employs open communication, dialogue and persuasion, always seeking to establish a relationship with an enemy and thus to gain the mutual recognition of each other's interests which is the basis of justice.



- (b) **Love of neighbour.** Richard Gregg in his book "The Power of Non Violence" states: "Love is the most important of all these qualities of the non violent person. It may even be considered the origin of all the others. This love must be strong ... not sentimental, with no hint of 'doing good to' the other, nor does it make a parade of itself. It must be patient and full of insight, understanding and imagination. It must be enduring, kind and unselfish"... The centrality of love cannot be over-emphasised, for truth without love may easily turn to intolerance and fanaticism.
- (c) **Love of enemies.** In the setting of conflict resolution, this love is directed primarily to one's enemies. Gregg says: "The love for one's opponents makes it possible to see their needs, positions and desires and implies the willingness to approach them with an open mind. This love also induces a frame of mind in the opponents which induces them to see your needs and leads them to trust you." While the object of Christian love of enemies is the redemption of the enemy and not a political objective, yet the non violent objective of the conversion of one's opponent is also more than a political objective. A change in policy only comes from a deeper change, a change of heart on the part of the members of the opposing system, a casting away of former attitudes of fear and anger and a putting on of love.
- (d) **Repentance and forgiveness.** Gregg draws attention to the importance of one's inner condition when preparing for non violent action. "If one's inner condition is of anger or hate, this ... cowardly inconsistency is soon detected by others and makes impossible any increase in the awareness of essential unity" (with an opponent). Thus, in Christian terms, before we meet our enemies we need to repent of any anger, fear or hatred which prevents us being used as instruments of God's love towards them. The inner condition of wholehearted love for one's opponents implies also the forgiveness of wrongs committed by them so that there may be no barrier to the

building of a relationship with them.

**For several reasons, the method of non violence appears to offer more scope for Christian participation:**

- (a) The basic ingredient of non-violence is courageous, sacrificial love expressed in a deep concern for truth but with respect for the integrity of one's opponents and a desire for a right relationship with them.
- (b) There is the steadfast refusal to take any action incompatible with this love, in particular, the action of killing.
- (c) Repentance of all evil thoughts towards our enemies is a basic preparation for non violence.
- (d) Non violence seeks neither the humiliation nor the conquest of our opponents but a change of heart. This change involves a freeing from the divisive power of fear and hatred and a search for reconciliation.

**What kind of international conflict resolution can we as Christians support today? Where can we agree and where do we disagree?**

**On the one hand:**

- We may recognise that the way of non-violence is both compatible with Christian teaching and has also proved effective in securing justice.
- We may also agree with all Lambeth Conferences since 1930 that “modern war as a method of settling international disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of Our Lord Jesus Christ.”

- We may have noted the failure of military intervention in Somalia, Vietnam and Afghanistan, and possibly Bosnia.
- We have seen the increase in successful negotiated settlements, especially in South Africa, Israel-Palestine and Northern Ireland.
- We have realised that nuclear warfare and many kinds of conventional warfare in their indiscriminate and horrendous cost in human suffering go far beyond the limits of what could ever be described as a “just” war.

#### **But on the other hand:**

- We do not find many examples of non-violence in relations between nations or within nations.
- The military solution has been for centuries the traditional method of settling international disputes and is deeply engrained in our Anglo-Saxon history and world view.

So the Anglican Church, like Israel of Elijah’s day, hesitates between two opinions. **Can we discover a method of international conflict resolution which will prove both non-violent and effective in securing the interests of the conflicting parties?** And as this study deliberately includes both personal and international conflict resolution, can we break down the besetting dichotomy between the two?

Can it be that we need a third method of conflict resolution?

**Both armed force and organised non-violence are basically reactive.** Both react to situations of injustice in different ways. Can we envisage a method which would seek to anticipate a conflict before it develops and erupts into violence? We might call this **pro-active peacemaking**. Its approach would be totally Shalom-affirming, and it

would build on what was good in the patterns and intention of the first two methods.

May we describe two current examples:

- (a) The method of **“principled negotiation”** employed so far principally by the American Government in the Middle East, Korea, Haiti and Bosnia.
- (b) The method of **non-violent intervention used by the non-governmental organisation, the International Peace Brigade**, in Sri Lanka, Guatemala and Colombia.

The method of **“principled negotiation”** has been evolved by the **Harvard Negotiation Project**, a project initiated by the Harvard Law School, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and other groups. The method was publicised by the book written by two of the team, Fisher and Ury, and entitled *Getting To Yes (Negotiating an Agreement Without Giving In)*. The Project assisted President Carter in achieving the historic **Camp David accord between Egypt and Israel in 1978**. The object of this negotiation is to achieve agreement by a formula which protects the essential interests of the parties. Though the approach is essentially pragmatic and secular, we believe that the methods used are not incompatible with the non-violent approach which has been previously described. The approach recommended is along the following lines:

- (a) To begin with, we are to **separate the problem from the people**. The element of personal animosity is to be removed and a relationship established with the opponent as an essential preliminary to reaching an agreement on substance.
- (b) Next, we need to **empathise with the viewpoint and emotion of the other party**. We are to try to think and feel as he thinks and feels,



and in this way to discern his underlying interest or problem. We must not presume that the fear and emotion of the opponent represents his intention. **Positional stances generate antagonism. Instead we must deal with interests, especially looking for mutual interests.**

- (c) We then sit down with the other party and **brainstorm imaginative solutions which recognise the interests of the parties and will result in their mutual gain.**
- (d) In seeking solutions we will use **objective criteria** which will be respected by both parties. Examples in international negotiation might be a common code of ethics, a common belief in human rights or the democratic process, or supervision by an international tribunal.
- (e) One of the factors in this kind of negotiation is the concept of **BATNA or the Best Alternative To a Negotiated Settlement.** BATNA is the fall-back position which either strengthens or weakens the stance of the negotiators. In the issue of international relations BATNA is usually the outbreak of hostilities, including war or revolution or international terrorism. In this case the scale and horror of modern weapons, their indiscriminate use particularly upon non-combatants, and the extent of the damage caused both to the economy and the environment are to be balanced against a negotiated solution which is able to protect the vital interests of the parties.

We can illustrate the method of “principled negotiation” by the example of the Camp David accord. Israel as a result of the Six Day War in 1967 had occupied the Sinai Peninsula. The positions of Egypt and Israel in 1978 were totally incompatible. Both wanted the Sinai. However, Egypt needed it because it had been traditionally under Egyptian sovereignty; Israel needed it for security, to protect her from another



Acknowledgement: Kinder Library, St John's College  
**WORSHIP SUGGESTIONS**

**Symbol:** a ball, for example tennis ball size

Pause for a moment to allow people to move into a time of worship.

**Reading:** Mark 10:35-45

**Reflection**

We use balls to play games — tennis, cricket, football, netball and many other games.

During this study, people in the group may have become conscious of times when they have thrown a ball, figuratively, at someone, intending to hurt rather than to join in a game. Or, as with the disciples, we have unresolved situations, times of wanting to dominate others, or feeling that others are wanting to dominate us.

In a time of silence, allow people to acknowledge such times before God, and ask for forgiveness. It may also be appropriate to speak to the person who has been hurt by or who threw the “ball,” too.

**Prayer:** Read the following prayer, slowly.

Let us be at peace within ourselves.

*Silence*

Let us accept that we are profoundly loved and need never be afraid.

*Silence*

Let us be aware of the source of being that is common to us all and to all living creatures.

*Silence*

Let us be filled with the presence of the great compassion towards ourselves and towards all living beings.

*Silence*

Realising that we are all nourished from the same source of life, may we so live that others be not deprived of air, food, water, shelter, or the chance to live.

*Silence*

Let us pray that we ourselves cease to be a cause of suffering to one another.

*Silence*

With humility let us pray for the establishment of peace in our hearts and on earth.

*Silence*

(From p. 163 in "A New Zealand Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa")

**Prayer** (all):

Eternal Spirit,

Earth-maker, Pain-bearer, Life-giver,

Source of all that is and that shall be,

Father and Mother of us all,

Loving God, in whom is heaven:

The hallowing of your name echo through the universe!

The way of your justice be followed by the peoples of the world!

Your heavenly will be done by all created beings!

Your commonwealth of peace and freedom sustain our hope and come on earth.

With the bread we need for today, feed us.

In the hurts we absorb from one another, forgive us.

In times of temptation and test, strengthen us.

From trials too great to endure, spare us.

From the grip of all that is evil, free us.

For you reign in the glory of the power that is love, now and for ever.

Amen.

(p. 181 in “A New Zealand Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa”)

**Concluding versicle and response**

Leader: God’s love guide us and strengthen us.

All: **Into paths of justice and peace. Amen.**





This booklet is part of a series of studies on war and its role in the light of the Gospel commissioned by the Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland in 1992 (Motion 18).

The material has been prepared by representatives of the Diocesan Social Justice Council and the New Zealand branch of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. The Defence Force Chaplaincy was also consulted.

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- Study 1      Foreword  
                 Contents  
                 **Introductory study: "Why Peace?"**  
                 Appendices:  
                 1. Synod Motion  
                 2. Leaders' worship suggestions  
                 3. Leaders' study suggestions
- Study 2      **War and the Bible**  
                 I. How do we face and overcome evil?  
                 II. What is the Biblical concept of justice?  
                 III. How do we explain the Old Testament Wars?  
                 IV. What kind of a Messiah does the Old Testament point to?  
                 V. What is the meaning of "Shalom", the Hebrew word for peace?  
                 VI. How does judgement, particularly the Last Judgement, relate to war?  
                 VII. What is a Christian's duty towards the State?
- Study 3.      **The Church and War**  
                 I. Pacifism  
                 II. The Just War  
                 III. The Crusade.
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Peace Study 5

# WAR IN AOTEAROA/ NEW ZEALAND A CASE STUDY





Peace Study 5

# WAR IN AOTEAROA/ NEW ZEALAND



## A CASE STUDY

Now that we have studied three background papers on **“War and the Bible”**, **“The Church and War”** and **“Conflict Resolution”**, we are ready to take actual wars that are familiar to most of us and examine them in the light of the background papers. The wars chosen are the **New Zealand Wars** and the **Gulf War of 1991**.

The first case study is on the **New Zealand Wars**, or as they were formerly known, the **Land Wars**, which occurred so tragically in our country over one hundred years ago.

The New Zealand Wars are relevant to us today because:

- (a) **They relate to our forebears, both Maori and Pakeha.**
- (b) **The Anglican Church was heavily involved** and faced the same problems in its attitude towards war as it does today.
- (c) **The issues which were important then are still important today, i.e. Treaty rights, land issues and sovereignty.**

In this study we will not be giving a political or military history of the conflict, nor will we be apportioning blame, but we will try to look at the Wars **as a breakdown in human relationships**, and try to assess how this breakdown occurred.

We will consider two questions:

- (a) **What were the issues** which caused problems?
- (b) **How were these issues faced, and what factors prevented them from being faced?**

First of all, why do we talk about a "breakdown in relationships"?

This is because the early years of our nation's history appeared to show a remarkably **promising racial partnership**, a partnership which was almost unique in the countries colonised by western nations.

Let us look at the evidence.

- (a) **The missionaries by the mid 1840s had spread the knowledge of Christ to most of the Maori race.** Mission stations and schools had been set up around the country. Maori converts had carried the Gospel throughout New Zealand. Many Maori had either become Christians or had been influenced by Christian teaching.
- (b) As in the early Church, **conversion meant not only dynamic evangelism, but a radical change in life style.** Polygamy, slavery and cannibalism had been relinquished. But above all, **the old practice of utu or revenge was giving place to the Gospel of peace.** The Christian son of the warrior, Te Rauparaha, came to seek forgiveness from the South Island tribes which his father had ravaged. Maori Christians and Anglican missionaries such as Henry Williams, Richard Taylor, Bishop Selwyn and Octavius Hadfield helped in the settlement of tribal disputes. Henry Williams' diaries are a fascinating history of indefatigable peacemaking from 1823 onwards. He resolutely refused to sell muskets to the Maoris in exchange for food. He made peace at Waima in Hokianga in 1828, and after the battle of Kororareka in 1830. In 1832 he followed the warlike Ngapuhi to Tauranga to try to dissuade them from exercising their right of utu against the Tauranga tribes. In 1833 at Matamata he tried to induce Waharoa to make peace with the Ngatimaru. In 1835 he helped Wherowhero to make peace with the Ngatimaru. In 1835 he brought together Ngapuhi, Ngatimaru and Waikato at Otahuhu. During the war in the north he mediated between Hone Heke and Kawiti and the Governor.
- (c) **Maori economic advancement,** encouraged by the model missionary farm at Waimate North, **had been considerable,** and Maori industry and agriculture were supplying the new settlers with food and building their houses and roads.



- (d) **The Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 had established a solemn contract or covenant between the Crown and the Maori tribes** represented by their chiefs. According to the English version the tribes recognised the sovereignty of Queen Victoria, and, in turn, their rights to the land, the forests and the sea coasts were protected. Moreover, they were granted all the rights and privileges of British subjects. The Crown also had the sole right to buy Maori land.

However, **ambiguity in the wording of the Maori and English versions of the Treaty was to sow the seeds of future trouble.** In the Maori version the authority of the Crown is translated as “kawanatanga” or governorship and the Maori rights to the possession of their land include “rangatiratanga” or chieftainship. Rangatiratanga, a stronger, more territorial word than kawanatanga, had been used in the northern chiefs’ Declaration of Independence in 1835 to express their political entity and authority.

Unfortunately, at the time of signing of the Treaty the meaning of the sovereignty of the Crown in the English version was not explained to the Maori, nor was the significance of rangatiratanga in the Maori version explained to the Crown. Therefore to the Crown’s representatives the Treaty meant a cession of sovereignty, while to the Maori it was a sharing of sovereignty.

**Within twenty years, the two races were at war,** and the Anglican missionaries who previously had helped to bring tribal war to an end and who had encouraged the Maori chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi either were silent or sided with their own race.

What then went wrong? **What were the issues, and how were they faced?**

Let us try to identify these issues, recognising at the same time that they are interrelated:

- (a) The land problem
- (b) The problems caused by the Constitution of 1852.
- (c) The problem of Treaty rights
- (d) The pressures caused by Maori nationalism
- (e) the vacuum between separate development and amalgamation and the subsequent failure to provide law and government for the Maori
- (f) The problem about sovereignty or rangatiratanga arising partly out of the Treaty

Now we will examine these issues separately.

- (a) **Land.** Most people in the past would have said that the conflict occurred because of disputes over land. To emphasise this, these wars, originally known as the Maori Wars, were later retitled the Land Wars. As a direct result of the wars, the settlers secured confiscated land of over four and a half million acres which the Maoris had not been prepared to sell to the Crown.

The land issue was important in several ways.

Firstly, the buildup of the European population between 1840 and 1860 as a result of the colonising activity of the New Zealand Company was very significant. In 1840 the Europeans numbered two thousand and the Maori probably at least fifty times that number. In 1852 the Europeans had increased to thirty thousand, and in 1860 eighty thousand. In 1871 the Maori numbered 45,470 and the Europeans 256,393. In these years the European demand for land had increased dramatically.

Moreover, there was a crisis of understanding between the races as to the nature and value of land. The Maori saw it as a spiritual issue, part of their mana, self respect and common inheritance as a people, as well

as a food resource. The Pakeha saw land in individual and commercial terms; it was necessary for a family's livelihood. The mana of one race was therefore pitted against the land hunger of the other.

Closely associated with this different understanding of the nature of land was the difference between Maori and European ownership of land. European ownership was individual. Maori ownership was communal or tribal, and authority remained with the chief.

How fairly was the land problem faced? The Waitara purchase which led to the war in Taranaki hinged on the question of ownership. The Crown as the sole buyer of Maori land was well aware of the nature of Maori ownership. However, the settler government in Taranaki, restive over Wiremu Kingi's opposition as paramount chief to the sale of his tribal land, wished to change the basis of Maori ownership to allow the minority of his tribe or any other tribe to sell direct to the Crown. The sale of the Waitara block was to be the test case. Although the law had not been changed, the Provincial government in New Plymouth acted as if it had.

Could differences over land have been resolved without war? The New Zealand Company in order to attract settlers had offered plentiful supplies of cheap land. The land was worth more to the European settlers than to the Maori in commercial terms because the European farming was more intensive. The settlers were prepared to pay five shillings an acre for land which the Crown had purchased from the Maori owners at sixpence an acre (an increase in price of 600%). Did this mean that the Crown in exercising its pre-emptive rights under the Treaty was acting as a land speculator? This did not necessarily follow if the proceeds of the sales were allocated fairly for development of the colony.

However, although 15% had been promised for Maori purposes, only 4% was actually allocated (£15000 sterling out of £400,000 sterling). A commercial accommodation could have been arranged with more

regard to Maori wishes. A higher price or a leasehold tenure might have been acceptable. It appears therefore that the problem over land was not commercially insoluble. However, the reason that little effort was given to its solution was found mainly in the Constitution.

(b) **Constitution of 1852.** Under this Constitution the Imperial Government transferred much of its power to the colonial government. Each Province now had its own Assembly, and because of distances and difficulties in travel, the Provincial Assembly had considerable local power. The Maori, however, were effectively disfranchised because the right to vote was based on the ownership of private title and Maori ownership was usually communal. Nor was there any assembly created by which Maori wishes could be conveyed to the Legislature. Both the Colonial Legislature and the Provincial Assemblies, therefore, represented almost exclusively the views of the European settlers. The Maori were disadvantaged most strongly in the area of land disputes where there was no provision for these disputes to be referred to a court of law. Because the Crown itself was the purchaser, the Crown itself was the Court. And the Crown was no longer Queen Victoria or a humanitarian Colonial Office who had promised to protect their land under the Treaty of Waitangi, but a white settler government. Under the new Constitution the cards were stacked against the Maori, and even worse the settlers had advocates who knew how to use the law to their own advantage. Some would say that they even sought to manoeuvre the Maoris into an attitude of defiance so that force could be used against them as rebels and their land could be confiscated.

(c) **Treaty rights.** The Maori were accorded the rights of British subjects under the Treaty of Waitangi, and English law did not allow the land of its subjects to be forcibly taken outside a court of law to which the subject had access. By accepting the right of an individual, Teira, to sell the tribal land at Waitara against the customary right of the chief of the tribe, Wiremu Kingi, the Crown



were neither recognising Maori custom nor English law. The Waitara purchase in other words was illegal, and infringed the rights of the rightful owners of the land. So argued most convincingly the Chief Justice, Sir William Martin and so did also Bishop Selwyn and Octavius Hadfield. So did Wiremu Kingi and Wiremu Tamihana appeal to the law as British subjects. But they argued and appealed in vain.

- (d) **Maori nationalism.** This issue, particularly difficult for Victorian Englishmen to resolve, was represented initially by the Maori Land League in Taranaki but much more formally and strongly by the King Movement in the Waikato. Although the King Movement arose partly out of the land issue, the emotions which it aroused among the Europeans were different. The land ownership issue was a matter of legal justice for which precedent existed from time immemorial in English law.

But 'nationalism' was a matter of authority, of sovereignty, of dependence and independence. For example, Bishop Selwyn and most Anglican missionaries supported Wiremu Kingi in his land claim, but refused to support Wiremu Tamihana and the King Movement. They saw the Movement as a kind of relapse, a rejection of the benevolent hand that had fed them, a turning back on the steady and beneficent progress towards amalgamation and assimilation into British civilisation, British law and the Christian religion. They believed implicitly in the superiority of their culture because they believed that this culture represented the flowering of Christian virtues. The power of this unconscious assumption was all the more potent because it was not realised. A blind spot was created which made it difficult for even the best of the English Christians to understand the aspirations of the Maori people.

But what was the King Movement really about? Was not Wiremu Tamihana a true son of the missionaries who as paramount chief of the



Ngatihaua organised his villages along scriptural lines, settled disputes by mediation. and sought to bring to the whole of the Maori people the same peace and Biblical discipline? Did not he approach the Governor, Thomas Gore Browne, with a proposal to set up the same runanga for his people as the Constitution of 1852 had set up for the European settlers? Was not this runanga or congress a logical expression of the Maori right to be involved in decision making as implied in the Treaty of Waitangi? The Governor, however, rebuffed his proposal.

It was only then that Wiremu Tamihana set up the King Movement. But he was not a rebel. He brought ploughs to Ngaruawahia, not a military guard; Te Wherowhero was to be a shepherd not a warrior. There was no thought of repudiating the Queen's authority. To Tamihana she was a minister of God and rebellion was as the sin of witchcraft. The general aims of the movement were to bring unity, law and order to the Maori people and to stop the sale of land to the Europeans. There was no hostility to the Europeans in 1860, and no desire to go back to the old ways. The King Movement under the influence of Tamihana wanted to share the Christian religion and British laws and they needed to learn the art of government. What the Government had refused to do, they did themselves, so that Maori and Pakeha could move forward together, each with their own runanga. As Tamihana put it, could not two sticks stand together, could not two rivers flow into the same sea?

(e) **Separate development or amalgamation and the need for law and government.** Wiremu Tamihana and the King Movement represented a Maori desire for law and government. But if this desire was to be fulfilled, another question about separate development or amalgamation had to be answered. The question was never really put, let alone answered. Many would have said that the King Movement was a movement for separate development. The end of intertribal warfare saw the hope for real unity among the tribes, but lawlessness was a constant danger. The early

missionaries and the Treaty of Waitangi had envisaged this kind of development for the Maori. However, as land sales increased and the Maori increased in education and economic prowess, Sir George Grey felt that the future lay in the integration and amalgamation of the two races.

Unfortunately, no machinery was set up to give effect to this change. The Maori were left in a vacuum between separate development and amalgamation. The franchise was effectively denied them under the 1852 Constitution. Native Districts were not set up nor native laws upheld. But neither were British laws taught or administered in Maori areas. When Fenton was appointed as resident magistrate in the Waikato in 1857, his appointment was shortly afterwards cancelled. Can we see in this a fear among the white settlers of any organisation encouraging separate development among the Maoris, an organisation which might like the Maori Land League in Taranaki unite to oppose the sale of land?

- (f) **Sovereignty.** According to the Maori version of the Treaty of Waitangi the Maori were a nation, the pakeha were a nation. Governor Grey was a chief, Wiremu Tamihana was a chief; Queen Victoria was the chief of the chiefs. The Treaty of Waitangi had respected the authority, the mana, the rangatiratanga of the chiefs, certainly over lands, lakes, rivers, forests and fisheries, but had stopped short of political sovereignty, reserving the sovereignty of the Queen. But the sovereignty of the Queen was not fully spelt out. As explained above the term used for the sovereignty of the Queen was “kawanatanga” or governorship. Kawanatanga was seen by the Maori as status accorded to another chief representing a particular area of authority. If the term had been “mana”, the Maori would not have signed because mana would never have been surrendered to the European.

Therefore, in the Treaty of Waitangi there was an area of

ambiguity which assumed considerable significance as the King Movement developed. Wiremu Tamihana by his two sticks analogy seemed to view Governor Grey as an equal "chief" under God. However, for Grey there was no room for any authority except his own. It is probable that at the beginning the King Movement represented a spectrum on rangatiratanga ranging from the partnership of Wiremu Tamihana to the more independent attitude of Rewi Maniapoto. But as Pakeha attitudes hardened towards the King Movement, so the position of Wiremu Tamihana was eroded and the position of Rewi Maniapoto was strengthened.

How then was the situation handled between the Maori people, the settler government and the Governor? After all, **none of the problems which we have described were insoluble, given the will to resolve them.** However, **we can note four factors acting against any resolution of the issues:**

- (a) An inability or an unwillingness to understand these issues
- (b) A reliance on the sanction of force rather than the sanction of law
- (c) A deliberate spreading of misinformation
- (d) The influence of a hidden agenda.

Let us now consider how **these factors led inevitably to the outbreak of hostilities.**

Governor Gore Browne's proclamation to the King's Council in May 1861 stated that unless the Waikato tribes gave up their King and their refusal to sell land, they would be treated as rebels and their land forfeited. But the Maori could sense that, as in Taranaki, so in the Waikato, the hidden agenda was land. Behind the Governor was the powerful Auckland lobby of land speculators like Whittaker and Russell who opposed any policy which would lock up the rich lands of the Waikato. It was this lobby which had also quashed the appointment of Fenton as resident magistrate in the Waikato.

Governor Grey's approach to the Kingites was superficially more conciliatory. Gore Browne's proclamation was withdrawn. In response to the request for laws and government, he appointed commissioners and erected courthouses through the Waikato. But at the same time, he ordered the construction of a military road from Auckland right to the borders of the King country. He appears to have adopted the maxim "If you wish for peace, prepare for war".

The Great South Road and its construction by the military demonstrated the Government's reliance on the sanction of force. This road became instead the road to war. The King Movement from then on refused to trust the Governor, and negotiations broke down because of the atmosphere of suspicion. They regarded the commissioners as spies and the courthouses as forts, and saw the conciliatory gestures as a means of keeping them quiet until the Governor's war preparations, especially the road, were complete. Grey had indeed already informed the Secretary of State that Waikato would be open to attack before long. The actual causes were a fabricated Maori plan to invade Auckland and to expel and murder every European together with a claim that every attempt at negotiation had failed. The "Southern Cross" newspaper claimed that "we have beaten back the tide of invasion". Grey said that the Maori plan for indiscriminate slaughter of Europeans had been foiled on by his own vigorous methods of defence.

May we recapitulate on the four factors which led to war:

- (a) **An inability or an unwillingness to understand the issues.** We may note here the issues of Treaty rights, the Maori desire for law and order and the sovereignty issue behind the King movement.
- (b) **The reliance on the sanction of force** as shown in the building of a military road to the border of the King Country.
- (c) **The spreading of misinformation** as in the alleged Maori intention to attack and destroy the settlement of Auckland.



- (d) **The influence of a hidden agenda** as shown by the pakeha desire to take over the rich lands of the Waikato.

So that is why fellow New Zealanders and fellow Christians were forced into going to war against each other. **Tragically in the end both sides were convinced that it was a just war.** The war was seen as “just” by the Pakeha because it was represented as a “defensive” war. The Maori also could be seen as fighting a “just” war because they were defending their lives, homes and land. Those who took part, both Maori and pakeha, were often reluctant warriors, sometimes Christians on both sides, both doing what they felt was right according to the information which had been given them.

What were the **immediate results of the campaign** that ended with the Battle of Orakau?

- (a) Although it is now believed that the Maori forces pursued a policy of disengagement, the Imperial troops were believed then to have been victorious. **Four and a half million acres of what was to become the best dairy farming land in New Zealand were confiscated** from its Maori owners and sold by the Crown to the pakeha settlers. The future of European settlement and development was assured. On the other hand the Maori regarded the policy of confiscation as unjust. According to their understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi they were not rebels. The invasion of the Waikato was viewed by them as a pakeha plan to gain possession of their land.
- (b) One of the great tragedies was **the shattering of the church.** Why, may we ask, did Selwyn march with the Imperial troops into the Waikato? Did he hope to be a mediator between his Maori congregations in the Waikato and his European flock among the troops? Did he go to help the sick and wounded on both sides and to moderate the barbarity of war? Did he recognise that the Imperial troops had no chaplain and could he neglect their pastoral

need? In all these aims, some of which he stated, he acted in good faith and as a pastor. But was he naive? The stated war aim of the Government was to confiscate the land of the Maori “rebels”. The time of mediation was over. The Maori were fighting to retain their land, the very mana and meaning of their nation. Selwyn’s voice, so strong in the Waitara purchase (for which he was pilloried by the settlers), was strangely mute before the start of the Waikato War. In fact he and other Anglican missionaries actually supported Governor Grey in his invasion of the Waikato.

**But whatever the Bishop’s motives, the Maori felt their father in God had become a traitor.** In 1866, in the words of Henry Williams, the Anglican Maori mission had “withered away.” The war broke Selwyn as it had broken the church. When he left New Zealand finally in 1868, in spite of a fine and courageous episcopate, he carried on his shoulders a burden of suspicion from Maori and pakeha alike.

## THE REACTION

It is not surprising therefore that the Imperial victories in Taranaki and in the Waikato and at Gate Pa did not end the wars. The second stage of the New Zealand Wars may be seen as the **Maori response to the first stage, born out of the humiliation of military defeat but even more out of the sense of deep injustice from the loss of their land by vast confiscations.**

Two entirely different methods evolved for combating this injustice:

- (a) The one espoused the method of the **crusade or holy war**. This was the **Hau Hau movement**.
- (b) The other adopted the method of **organised non-violence**. This was the stand of **Te Whiti at Parihaka**.

Let us examine these in turn.



The **Pai-Marire or Hau Hau movement**, of which Te Ua was the prophet and Titikowaru and Te Kooti the warriors, could be seen as similar to **modern national liberation struggles and combined religious ideals with guerilla warfare**. Originally peaceful, it turned to violence after the Government started raiding and burning Maori farms and pas outside New Plymouth in 1864 in enforcement of the confiscation of the whole of Taranaki. Whereas the King Movement sought no violence to Europeans and wanted both British laws and the Christian religion, the Hau Haus reacted against everything which they regarded as pakeha, including Christianity. A vigorous minority were now determined to wipe out every European. This holy war mentality saw the Maori people as the chosen race and drew on Old Testament holy war texts. When the head of Captain Lloyd, the leader of the New Plymouth raiding party, was sent to every tribe in New Zealand, the call for national justice may be compared with Saul's rallying of Israel to rescue the men of Jabesh-Gilead (1 Samuel 11). The practice of "utu" or revenge which the Maoris had originally seen as incompatible with the Gospel was now revived, but against the European. Polygamy and cannibalism also reappeared.

By mid 1865 the new religion or "superstition" had spread to nearly every part of the North Island. Atrocities occurred on both sides. The murder of the missionary, Carl Volkner, at Opotiki was paralleled by the slaughter of prisoners, including women and children, after the capture of Te Kooti's pa at Ngatapa by Government troops and Maori collaborationists. The result was as predictable as the Land Wars. Superior numbers and fire-power wore down Te Kooti's forces to a hunted few. The ideals for which they strove were forgotten in the brutality of their methods. Churchmen and humanitarians who might have sympathised with these ideals withdrew their scruples about confiscation when they saw the reversion of the Maoris to paganism and cannibalism. History has not been kind to the Hau Hau, but modern liberation theologians would find much in the movement to compare with today's wars of national liberation.

The second reaction to the European policy of confiscation has virtually been ignored by the history books, even though at the time it attracted similar support to the Hau Hau. **Te Whiti-o-Rongomai's non-violent stand at Parihaka** near Mount Taranaki first **asserted the rightful Maori ownership of all the land in Taranaki which had been confiscated** after Wiremu Kingi's "rebellion". Parihaka after 1869, however, became both a symbol and a physical rallying point for all Maoris in New Zealand who were smarting under the confiscation policy, whether in the Waikato, Taranaki, Bay of Plenty or Wanganui. Te Whiti's policy of active non-violent civil disobedience had two aims. First of all, he sought to curb the potential violence of a deeply injured and turbulent race with a more creative and positive approach which was equally active and committed to fight injustice. Secondly, he endeavoured to reach the heart and conscience of the Government by an attitude which reached out to them not in hatred and enmity but in love and non-resistance. His actions were not directed against the settlers, but aimed instead to "probe Governor Grey's heart."

Te Whiti's teachings reflect his missionary upbringing. They also predate and prefigure the ideals of Gandhi and Martin Luther King. "If any man thinks of his gun, he will die by it ... place your trust in forbearance and peace". "Goodness is the only weapon which should be victorious". "If they smite you, smite not in return". "A bruised reed I will not break". "Peace and goodwill is the password".

The methods used by Te Whiti were simple and imaginative. Roadbuilders into confiscated land were greeted with cartloads of food, a symbol that the Europeans were still guests on Maori land. European farmers who had just bought confiscated land were amazed to wake up one morning to find Maori ploughmen calmly engaged in ploughing their fields. The roads that were built into confiscated land were everywhere blocked by fences erected by Te Whiti's followers.

The Government reaction was swift and brutal. Legislation was

immediately passed which authorised arrest and detention without trial of the 200 ploughmen in the South Island. Many of these prisoners suffered hardship and some died. The penalty for the fencers was two years' hard labour. But the fences continued to be re-erected. Each time they were pulled down by the constabulary. First the able-bodied men were arrested, then the old and the infirm men, then the women, then the children. No resistance was offered to the police until the jails were overflowing and the Government had to call a halt to the arrests. Finally, a huge European expeditionary force was raised to invade and capture the enclave of Parihaka, and marched off to a hero's farewell from every part of New Zealand. This force, bristling with guns, bayonets and cannon, surrounded Parihaka in November 1881 and entered it, to be met with singing and skipping children. Unresisting, unarmed Parihaka was "captured", its inhabitants repatriated to the various parts of New Zealand from whence they had come and the land finally confiscated.

### Case Study Summary.

- (a) This paper on the New Zealand Wars is a microcosm of two thousand years of church history. Here is found every traditional Christian response to war: **pacifism, just war, crusade or holy war and organised non-violence**. In the fifty years between 1830 and 1880 we can note three contrasting historical periods in which were represented four quite different responses on peace and war:
  - (i) A period of Anglican-led missionary expansion occurred between 1830 and 1850 in which the Maori people throughout New Zealand accepted the Gospel, and Maori converts were the evangelists and agents of social transformation. This radical change included the renunciation of the practice of utu and inter-tribal warfare. This period was marked by the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. This Treaty was supported strongly by the missionaries, and was a landmark document for just dealing between the Crown

and the Maori people. The **dynamic evangelism and pacifism of this period bears some resemblance to the Early Church.**

- (ii) A period of disillusionment between 1850 and 1865 followed large scale white settlement under the New Zealand Company, the new Constitution of 1852 and land disputes culminating in war. The spirit and the letter of the Treaty were not upheld by the Government and the Maoris perceived that the European Christians did not believe in the Gospel of peace when land was at stake. **Both races believed they were fighting a just war** in good faith to defend their land, homes and families. The war led to a tragic rift in the unity of Christ's Church, and the Anglican mission and evangelical thrust among the Maoris withered away.
- (iii) A period of Maori reaction to the hurts of military defeat and unjust confiscation of land took place between 1865 (the battle of Orakau) and 1881 (the capture of Parihaka). This period was marked by two contrasting responses, the response of **armed revolution** by the Pai Marire and the response of **organised non-violent civil disobedience** by the followers of Te Whiti.
- (b) The study illustrates the damage which can be caused by the age-old **Anglican indecision between loyalty to the Gospel and loyalty to the State.**
- (c) Finally, the paper shows how war results from **an inability or unwillingness to identify and solve problem issues and analyses why these issues are not met.**

## **Conclusion.**

- (a) **The Past.** We cannot but ask the question: "Were the New Zealand Wars inevitable?" Conflict there was bound to be, given the circumstances and the attitudes, especially over land. But war? Sadly again we must observe that the attitudes of the times



again worked against any other solution. Courageous, humanitarian and morally upright as our Victorian forebears were, they had a blind spot about the missionary and civilising task of the British people which left little room for Maori self expression. Add to this their centuries-old faith in the power of military force to resolve conflicts. Were not these two traditional attitudes strong enough to shatter the unity of the New Zealand church, to override the claims of British justice and to break the letter and the spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi? Moreover, when their mentors enforced a vengeful peace, can we blame a warrior race for returning to utu? If the Redcoats, why not the Hau Hau?

(b) **The Present and Future.** Today we cannot return to the missionary situation prior to the coming of the pakeha. We must live with the post New Zealand War situation. Renewed emphasis on the Treaty has caused both races to seek a just and amicable solution to the misunderstandings and injustices of the past. Two issues in particular need to be faced:

- (a) **The land issues** arising out of unjust acquisition
- (b) **Sovereignty issues** stemming from the different versions of the Treaty.

In dealing with these misunderstandings, what methods do both races use? Does the spirit of resentment and hatred fostered by the Pai-Marire and its hunters live on? Or does the spirit of Parihaka instead probe our hearts? Do we recognise today what our colonial forebears did not? Can we see beyond our traditions and prejudices and our own material interests to a just and fair relationship between the races based on the spirit which we believe originally lay behind the Treaty of Waitangi? If the Treaty in 1840 was unique in its foresight, can our interpretation of it today, whether we are Maori or Pakeha, be also unique?

Chris Barfoot



## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Stuart Scott in his “The Travesty of Waitangi” (p.28) makes the point that the Treaty of Waitangi was not a binding contract because there was no true meeting of minds.
  - (a) Do you agree?
  - (b) If not, how can the misunderstanding over “sovereignty” and “rangatiratanga” in the two versions be resolved today?
2. (a) Do you think that Wiremu Kingi and Wiremu Tamihana were rebels?
  - (b) Could the New Zealand Wars have been avoided?
3. How do the New Zealand Wars fulfil the criteria of a just war
  - (a) from the European viewpoint?
  - (b) from the Maori viewpoint?

How just was the peace settlement after the New Zealand Wars? Would it have been different if the Maoris had been successful and they rather than the Pakeha had been in power?

4. Does Bishop Selwyn’s decision to accompany the Imperial troops as chaplain highlight a difficulty for all chaplains in a war situation? Is there any way this difficulty can be resolved?
5. Consider the Pai-Marire and Parihaka as two different responses to situations of injustice. Which method do you think is
  - (a) More compatible with the Christian way
  - (b) More likely to gain results?
  - (c) Which method do you consider was used at the recent Moutoa occupation in Wanganui?
6. The recent Tainui settlement entailed compensation to the Tainui people for land unjustly confiscated and also an apology from the

Crown for the wrongful invasion of the Waikato.

- (a) Do you agree with this settlement?
- (b) If so, are there other situations, either in New Zealand or in the world, where a similar settlement would be appropriate?

### SUGGESTIONS FOR WORSHIP

**Symbol:** a twig of green leaves, symbolizing hope and resurrection

Pause for a moment to allow people to move into a time of worship.

**Reading:** Psalm 117

**Prayer:** Benedicite Aotearoa

1. O give thanks to our God who is good:  
**whose love endures for ever.**
2. You sun and moon, you stars of the southern sky:  
**give to our God your thanks and praise.**
3. Sunrise and sunset, night and day:  
**give to our God your thanks and praise.**
4. All mountains and valleys, grassland and scree, glacier, avalanche, mist and snow:  
**give to our God thanks and praise.**
5. You kauri and pine, rata and kowhai, mosses and ferns:  
**give to our God your thanks and praise.**

6. Dophins and kahawai, sealion and crab, coral anemone, pipi and shrimp:  
**give to our God your thanks and praise.**
7. Rabbits and cattle, moths and dogs, kiwi and sparrow and tui and hawk:  
**give to our God your thanks and praise.**
8. You Maori and Pakeha, women and men; all who inhabit the long white cloud:  
**give to our God your thanks and praise.**
9. All you saints and martyrs of the South Pacific:  
**give to our God your thanks and praise.**

(p. 457 "A New Zealand Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa")

**Prayer:** Read the following prayer, slowly.

Let us be at peace within ours elves.

*Silence*

Let us accept that we are profoundly loved and need never be afraid.

*Silence*

Let us be aware of the source of being that is common to us all and to all living creatures.

*Silence*

Let us be filled with the presence of the great compassion towards ourselves and towards all living beings.

*Silence*

Realising that we are all nourished from the same source of life, may we so live that others be not deprived of air, food, water, shelter, or the chance to live.

*Silence*

Let us pray that we ourselves cease to be a cause of suffering to one another.

*Silence*

With humility let us pray for the establishment of peace in our hearts and on earth.

*Silence*

From p. 163 in "A New Zealand Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa"

### **Concluding versicle and response**

Leader: Let the freedom and peace of Christ be ours

All: **That throughout our land we may live together in harmony and trust. Amen.**

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This booklet is part of a series of studies on war and its role in the light of the Gospel commissioned by the Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland in 1992 (Motion 18).

The material has been prepared by representatives of the Diocesan Social Justice Council and the New Zealand branch of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. The Defence Force Chaplaincy was also consulted.

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                 Contents  
                 **Introductory study: "Why Peace?"**  
                 Appendices:  
                 1. Synod Motion  
                 2. Leaders' worship suggestions  
                 3. Leaders' study suggestions
- Study 2      **War and the Bible**  
                 I. How do we face and overcome evil?  
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                 III. How do we explain the Old Testament Wars?  
                 IV. What kind of a Messiah does the Old Testament point to?  
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Study 6

# THE GULF WAR

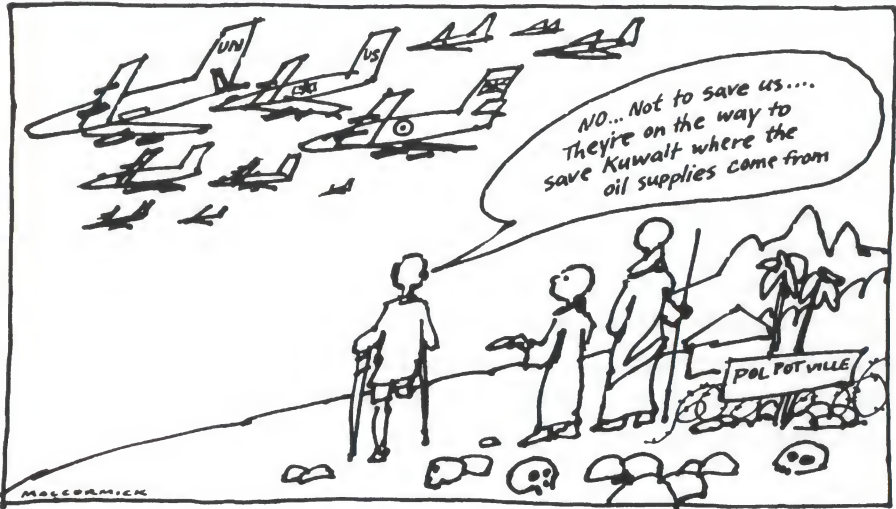
A CASE STUDY





## Study 6

# THE GULF WAR: A CASE STUDY



**While the general cannot be presumed from the particular, a focus on one event may demonstrate features which can be observed as common to many others.**

For a war to be engaged in, sufficient numbers of people in a democracy must be convinced that the cause is just and the war necessary, and that their god is in favour of military action against an evil enemy. Where deceit is required to achieve this objective, the justice of the cause may be questioned<sup>1</sup>.

This study cannot fully encompass the complexities and actions in the Gulf War. However it endeavours to be a fair representation and any student of this conflict will find increasing numbers of books available on the subject.



The format is a paragraph under various headings, followed by questions. You may prefer to write down your own before considering the study questions.

As the Gulf War involved the USA as a primary combatant, several questions relate directly to it. This is not to imply that the US is better or worse than any other nation. Such considerations are not part of this study.

## **SOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

### **1. Iraq**

Iraq had a long history of repression of human rights — Saddam Hussein had come to power by brutality, torture, murder and oppression, remaining in power through fear. Secret police watched everyone and no-one could be sure that their most private conversations would not lead to arrest and possible torture and execution. 10% of Iraqis were in exile. Dissension was instantly crushed. The Kurds were relentlessly persecuted. Regular reports from the United Nations and Amnesty International confirmed the lack of human rights.

### **2. Oil**

Most Western Middle East policy has a potent oil factor. Kuwait was overproducing and there was an oil glut that kept the price very low. Several OPEC nations were keen to see a price increase. Most oil importers focus on controlling and guarding their oil sources.

### **3. Economics in Iraq**

U.S and Western European support for Iraq from the early 1980s to 1990 grew substantially. Agricultural credits, technology, military equipment and expert advisors and loans went from 1.1 billion dollars (1983) to 35 billion dollars (1990). To facilitate this, Presidents Reagan and Bush removed Iraq from their prohibited list of terrorist countries, in defiance of US law<sup>2</sup>. Iraq continued to grow in debt, first accelerated by the war with Iran and later to the US and Europe. Saddam Hussein

desperately needed new income. The most obvious source was the disputed Rumailah oilfields, near the Iraq-Kuwait border.

#### **4. U.S. Economics**

One of the primary reasons for the US credit policy toward Iraq was the pressure on the Republican presidents and the administrations of Reagan and Bush to alleviate the plight of the Midwestern states by agricultural exports, and the pressure from the military to extend arms sales initially during the Iran-Iraq conflict and later to rebuild Iraq's shattered military inventory<sup>3</sup>. Although Iraq was 200 billion dollars in debt, US domestic policy enabled a blind eye to be turned in order to boost business at home. The U.S. Import-Export Bank saved Iraq from bankruptcy and provided a badly needed avenue for US goods and military supplies at a time when the collapse of the Soviet Union was reducing military need<sup>4</sup>. So a highly volatile situation was created at huge US and Western European expense with a tyrannical regime which had already proven its total disregard for the human rights of its citizens and its willingness to attack its neighbours.

#### **5. 1990, Year of Deceit and Information Suppression**

In January the US State Department began to take its own reports on Iraq seriously<sup>5</sup>.

Its Secretary, John Kelly, was sent to Saddam Hussein, not to challenge him, but to reassure him that all was well. The radio programme Voice of America (VOA) was critical of regimes that ruled by fear and secret police supporting dictatorships.

US Ambassador April Glaspie was sent to soothe Hussein's ruffled feathers: "...it is absolutely not U.S. policy to question the legitimacy of the Government of Iraq nor interfere in any way with the domestic concerns of the Iraqi people..."<sup>6</sup>.

All VOA broadcasts on Iraq were subject to censure by the State department.

On July 31st 1990, in response to a question by the Chairman of the Middle East subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, John Kelly, Secretary of State, declared that “If Iraq invaded Kuwait the U.S. had no treaty commitments that would require or oblige the U.S. to commit forces to the area.”

Before this statement was made, the State Department was convinced Saddam Hussein would invade Kuwait, primarily to capture its disputed oilfields — and had indicated that it was not militarily interested<sup>7</sup>.

Kuwait offered to return the Rumailah oilfield to prevent the Iraq invasion.

Iraq agreed to withdraw its huge frontline army of mostly untrained civilian reservists, provided the Allies did not shoot at or bomb them in retreat<sup>8</sup>.

Bush repressed the offers and effectively prevented Kuwait from acting on its offer.

(These details are contained in official US State Department documents which were not released until after the war.)

In August US and Iraqi officials at the highest levels were negotiating around the certainty that Iraq would invade Kuwait.

Iraq, assuming that US would not interfere, went ahead with the invasion.

The basic proposal from Iraq was to trade the invasion for the disputed oilfield. Hostages would be released. Generally Iraq would ‘clean up’ its act.

The US, however, immediately substantially increased its military presence in the area, going ahead with its plan for Operation Desert Storm.

In a series of moves which owed much to US promises of support and

debt reduction, major mid-East and UN members supported armed action against Iraq following the January 15 deadline for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

Bush offered a final 'peace' plan to Iraq which embarrassed the US by accepting it with enthusiasm<sup>9</sup>.

Hostages were released and James Baker was invited to Baghdad. The invitation was turned down by the U.S. and was not discussed in the United Nations.

Most international media accepted the severe limitations imposed on them and faithfully repeated the US military version of events with little effort at objectivity<sup>10</sup>. The US, anxious to avoid another Vietnam scenario where the media had made the war unpopular, used the military classification to control the information supplied both before the Gulf War started and during the war. The media therefore became a potent propaganda force, and the war against free speech was comprehensively won by the Western military and political leaders.

## **6. Sanctions**

It is now clear that the UN-imposed sanctions were biting deep in Iraq and were seriously undermining Saddam Hussein — and had also brought about a change in Iraqi policy toward Kuwait<sup>11</sup>.

However the US military, having kept troops and military equipment on high alert for invasion, and with massive air and naval power at hand, continued to plan invasion.

No energy was put into negotiating peace and the war went ahead as planned.

## **7. War**

It was from the beginning a grossly unequal conflict. A small tyrannical mid-east country with an arms industry and equipment largely provided by the Western Alliance found itself against the full military might of the

Western powers of the US and Europe.

88 500 tons of high explosive bombs were dropped on Iraq, almost totally destroying its infrastructure, and causing approximately 100,000 Iraqi combat deaths.

In spite of some spectacular TV footage, only 7% of bombs used were more accurate than in earlier conflicts<sup>12</sup>.

In contravention of the Geneva Conventions, substantial civilian targets were destroyed. These included hospitals, water supplies, sewage works and other non-military targets.

Much of the action militarily had little if anything to do with removing the Iraqis from Kuwait.

There was a decidedly personal conflict between George Bush and Saddam Hussein. Only months before and for all his administration Bush had broken the rules to support Hussein with huge resources and had declared no interest in internal conflict or obligation to repel an invasion.

At the end bulldozers buried the many thousands of uncounted bodies of Iraqi soldiers into shallow mass graves, in violation of the Geneva convention<sup>13</sup>. There they remain — men and boys bombed into oblivion by a vastly superior enemy. Victims of a war many did not want and leaving behind grieving families who will never know where they are or even if they are dead or alive — there were many desertions en route to the front.

Most of the dead died withdrawing from Kuwait while flying white surrender flags from their vehicles. US pilots described their bombing missions as “sheep shoots” and like “shooting fish in a barrel”<sup>14</sup>. These troops were retreating, offering little resistance to the massive military bombardment. Few had taken part in any battle.

The civilian losses in Iraq were equally catastrophic, the chief casualties



being women, children, and the sick and elderly. No effort was made to justify this action as being necessary to liberate Kuwait.

## 8. The Churches' Response

The World Council of Churches 7th Assembly in Canberra condemned both Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the US/UN indecent haste in going to war<sup>15</sup>.

Generally the leadership of liberal and mainline churches opposed the war and the leaders of conservative/fundamentalist churches supported it. Some leaders preached the sanctity of life in the womb yet supported war in the Gulf<sup>16</sup>.

July 1993

John Marcon



## QUESTIONS

### 1. Iraq

- (a) Given its human rights violations did Iraq have the right to be protected from invasion?
- (b) Was President Bush justified in declaring, "We must get rid of Saddam Hussein" — a leader who declared admiration for Hitler and Stalin and clear emulation of some of their dehumanising practices?
- (c) Should Hussein's enemies such as the Kurds and dissident Iraqi groups have been supported militarily to overthrow him? (President Bush promised them U.S. support)

### 2. Oil

- (a) James Wall, Editor of the *Christian Century*, posed this question: If Kuwait's major exports were brussels sprouts, would US

reaction have been less vigorous? What do you think?

- (b) Do nations dependent on a commodity from another country have the right to intervene in its internal affairs to protect their own interests?
- (c) Example 1: Would a starving nation be justified in invading New Zealand for food supplies?

Example 2: Would a nation desperate for brussels sprouts be justified in invading New Zealand to obtain them?

### **3. Economics in Iraq**

- (a) With a shattered economy — massive debts and extensive credits for the purchase of basic foods and military supplies — was Hussein justified in calling for action over the Rumailah oilfield being exploited by Kuwait?
- (b) With no other way of paying debt, were the Iraqis justified in determining to take it by force when Kuwait refused to negotiate?

### **4. US Economics**

- (a) Politicians must always be sensitive to local need. Were Presidents Reagan and Bush justified in alleviating the needs of farmers and the arms industry by opening doors to Iraq and funding its purchases?
- (b) Do nations have the right to trade with and support regimes with proven records of severe human rights violations?
- (c) Is it appropriate for one nation to decide on the moral uprightness of another?

### **5. 1990. Year of Deceit and Suppression of Information**

During this year Iraqi human rights violations finally evoked questions about U.S. support for Iraq within the State Department.

- (a) North Americans pride themselves on their rights to free speech. Yet during the preparations for the Gulf War and the war itself –

almost all the U.S. media, domestic and international, accepted severe restrictions and often simply published the State Department information. Why do you think this was so?

- (b) Does a nation have a right to misinform its citizens during wartime?
- (c) What effect does such lack of or misleading information have on society?
- (d) Would so many Churches and people have supported the war had they known the full facts around it?

## **6. Sanctions**

- (a) The State Department's own investigators reported the effectiveness of sanctions and these were confirmed by several other sources. Why were they not allowed to take effect fully?
- (b) Even when it was clear that the Iraqis were disposed toward a negotiated settlement because of the fear of revolution, why did the military build-up continue?

## **7. War**

- (a) Why was the infrastructure of Iraq so comprehensively destroyed, far beyond the requirements to remove Iraqi forces from Kuwait?
- (b) The destruction of civilian targets and the bombing and later burying of retreating troops was in direct violation of the Geneva conventions on the conduct of war. Why was nothing done?
- (c) Why did the US-led Western coalition insist on repelling Iraq from Kuwait after a few weeks when Israel for example has occupied Lebanon for over 13 years, in contravention of several UN resolutions?

## 8. The Churches' Response

(a) Why did most conservative churches support the war?

Why did most liberal mainline churches oppose it?

(b) In this war as in others most human values are reversed. Destruction, demoralization, deceit, killing of soldiers and the death and mutilation of civilians is acceptable, truth is withheld from the public, environmental damage is condoned. How is this value structure 'Christian'?

(c) There were repeated claims from the President and some Church leaders that the war against Iraq was consistent with the Gospel of Christ. How would this conclusion be reached?

(d) Often war is justified as the lesser of the available evils. Do we believe, as the people of God, that we are placed in situations where there is no moral good to choose?



## SUGGESTIONS FOR WORSHIP

**Symbol:** some money, of more than one currency, if you already have it available.

Pause for a moment to allow people to move into a time of worship.

**Reading:** Leviticus 19:9-16

### Prayer

Righteous God,

you challenge us to recognize our own motivations

before we condemn another's actions;

help us not to be manipulated by the propaganda in our newspapers

and television.

Help us, instead, to see the cost of acts of violence and human rights violations

in human terms,

and give us courage to speak out for those who are abused.

Christ our friend and servant,

you reign on earth in the presence of the powerless and oppressed,

and when people live in your ways of justice and mercy,

may your example inspire us to challenge and to change systems of greed

and oppression

so that all people on earth may share in your abundance

and rejoice in the beauty of your world.

**Prayer:** Read the following prayer, slowly.

Let us be at peace within ourselves.

*Silence*

Let us accept that we are profoundly loved and need never be afraid.

*Silence*

Let us be aware of the source of being that is common to us all and to all living creatures.

*Silence*

Let us be filled with the presence of the great compassion towards ourselves and towards all living beings.

*Silence*

Realising that we are all nourished from the same source of life, may we so live that others be not deprived of air, food, water, shelter, or the chance to live.



*Silence*

Let us pray that we ourselves cease to be a cause of suffering to one another.

*Silence*

With humility let us pray for the establishment of peace in our hearts and on earth.

*Silence*

From p. 163 in “A New Zealand Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa”

**Concluding versicle and response**

Leader: Let us bless our Lord and God, living and true

All: **Whose love endures for ever. Amen.**



**NOTES**

1. President Bush, with 91% approval rating for war against Iraq called on the Iraqi people to remove Saddam Hussein (Presidential Statement 15th Feb. 1991), and a month later declared “there could be no US interference in Iraq’s internal affairs.” NBC News reported that, “The anti-Hussein radio station Voice of Free Iraq was CIA sponsored”. This was never denied. (Victoria Brittain, *The Gulf Between Us*, Introduction, xix)
2. US Foreign Affairs Departmental Records 1983, also Murray Wass in *Village Voice* and Knot Royce *Newsday*.
3. US State Department records 1984. Following criticism of US Iraqi trade developments and military sales George Schultz de-

fended the practise claiming that “...it served US interests by improving our balance of trade, lessening unemployment in the aircraft industry.” (US State Department and Congressional Records 1984)

4. From 1983 US Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) extended ever larger agricultural and military credits to Iraq making it the third largest trading partner after Israel and Saudi Arabia, reaching US \$4.4 billion in the first quarter of 1990. Iraq became one of the largest importers of US rice, corn, wheat and other grains. (Alexander Cockburn and Andrew Cohen, Newspaper correspondents, *The Nation* and *Los Angeles Times*)
5. *The Gulf Between Us*, p. 10. VOA Editorial 15th January 1990.
6. *ibid.* p 10. US Foreign Affairs Departmental Records 1990.
7. *ibid.* pp 16-17. Transcript Mideast Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Secretary of Defence, Richard Chaney.
8. Meeting between Saddam Hussein and Ambassador Glaspie, just prior to invasion was misreported by both Baghdad and Washington.

Negotiations took place between Iraq and Kuwait in July 1990. Kuwaitis agreed to substantial compensation and territorial concessions. They were convinced that Iraq would invade them both for oil access and to occupy a restless Iraqi military — and the declared US policy of non-intervention would leave them very weak.

Washington ordered Kuwait not to offer concessions. (Faleh Abd Al Jabar, Iraqi citizen journalist and researcher, Editor *An Nahj*, a political review magazine on the Middle East and correspondent in *The Guardian*)

9. Proposal for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait was relayed to the White House by emissaries of the Non-Aligned Movement but rejected.

Joe Wilson, US Charge d'affaires Baghdad, 5th August was summoned by Hussein to reassure US that Iraq did not intend to invade Saudi Arabia. The following day 6th August this confidential assurance appeared in the *Washington Post*, except that Hussein was quoted as saying that if oil pipelines were cut he would invade Saudi Arabia.

10. Grace Paley, writer and journalist, Fund for Free Expression of 1400 journalists. 192 were placed with press pools or combat forces. Journalists who did not follow the military dictates included Schmit and Kifner, *New York Times*, Gughliotti, *Washington Post*, King and Bayles of Associated press. They were threatened or detained by Allied forces. A French TV crew were arrested and their video-tape confiscated. *San Francisco Examiner* associate editor wrote favourably of an antiwar march and was suspended for 3 months. (*The Gulf Between Us*, pp. 71-72)
11. I received this information from Syrian, Iraqi, Palestinian and other Middle East representatives to the WCC Conference in Canberra, who were devastated by the connection made repeatedly by President Bush that the War was "consistent with the Gospel of Christ." Most local Christians felt their ministry was seriously undermined by the war.
12. *The Gulf Between Us*, p. xvii. 70% of the bombs missed their targets. (US air Force Statement 1992)
13. *Middle East Watch* 7th March. Articles 16 and 17 list the responsibilities of a victor to forward name tags and personal documents to the defeated after the dead have been identified and the location of burial areas notified.  
  
None of this was done. as the Allied Forces were technically under U.N. control the U.N. is hardly interested in investigating itself.
14. US pilots from USS Ranger. They also described the carnival atmosphere as sorties took off with the William Tell Overture "blasting from every speaker on board". (*The Gulf Between Us*, p.

x)

15. Document PU3, Canberra, 7-20 Feb. 1991.

Essentially summarised:

strongly opposed to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait

welcomed the UN demand for immediate withdrawal

supported sanctions

appealed for withdrawal of all foreign troops from all nations

NCC USA appealed repeatedly for the US and UN not to abandon sanctions for war.

16. National Religious Broadcasters Conference February 1992.

President Bush was received to a standing ovation. He declared:

"...the teachings of Jesus Christ provided the moral underpinnings for United States involvement in the Gulf War."

On abortion: "I will stand on the side of choosing life."

"I want to thank you (the broadcasters) for helping America, as Christ ordained, to be a light unto the world." (Dan Wooding, *Challenge Weekly*, Feb. 20th 1992)

Other sources of information on the Gulf War are readily available from libraries, the World Council of Churches.

Magazines. *Sojourners*, *Christian Century*, *The New Internationalist*, *Middle East Watch*, Australian National University Briefing paper No. 19 *The Commanders*, by General Colin Powell.

Centre for Defence Information. Director Rear Admiral Gene R. La Rocque, Deputy Director Rear Admiral Eugene J. Carroll Jnr.









This booklet is part of a series of studies on war and its role in the light of the Gospel commissioned by the Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland in 1992 (Motion 18).

The material has been prepared by representatives of the Diocesan Social Justice Council and the New Zealand branch of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. The Defence Force Chaplaincy was also consulted.

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*Further input is welcome. Additional copies of the series or separate studies are available. (A charge will be made to cover printing and postage.) Photocopying is permitted.*

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